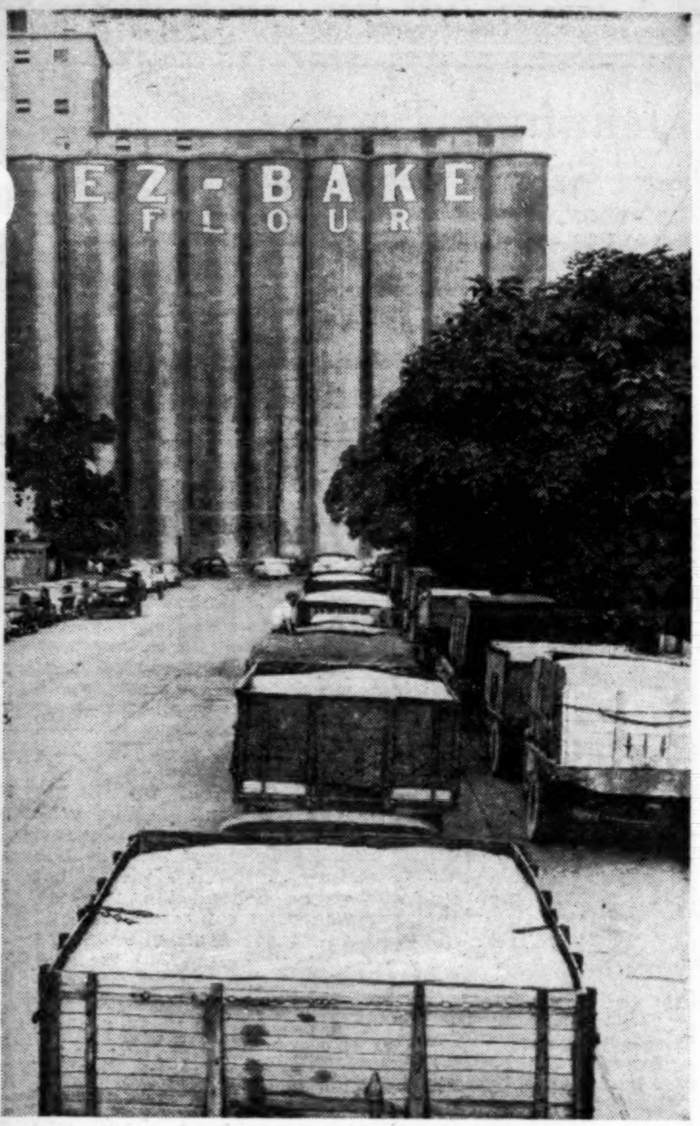

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
5 cents
Vol. I, No. 40 NEW YORK, N. Y., JULY 18, 1949

The answer to President Truman

Granaries full—pockets empty

By Tabitha Petran

PRESIDENT Truman says there is no depression. We are, he claims, "in a transition period."

The question is: a transition to what?

The facts presented in the Mid-year Economic Report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers indicate that the nation may be in transition to a fullblown depression. But the President and his economic advisers dodge these facts. They find the "prospect reassuring."

Here are some of the facts revealed in the statistics of the Report:

- Industrial production dropped 13% since last November, or at the rate of 20% a year. Since April the decline has sharply accelerated. In manufacturing, the most important sector of the economy, production fell 10% from April to June or at a rate of 40% a year. The President does not say how far production must drop before he considers the situation serious.

This substantial cutback in the face of the still unfilled needs of the American people reveals the basic weakness of the economy: lack of buying power. Once started, the production decline, with its attendant unemployment, cuts buying power still further and is in turn speeded up.

- Unemployment, even by official figures, has more than doubled since last year and its rate of increase is accelerating. Most sources concede unemployment is now more than 5,000,000, with at least an equal number working at half time.
- Business investment fell by more than 25% between the last quarter of 1948 and the second quarter of 1949. This is at the rate of more than $10,000,000,000 a year. Business investment was the most important prop for sustaining the boom. It is now beginning to collapse.

The President does not mention, but the statistical tables prepared by his advisers reveal, the declining living standards of the people—standards declining as the result of the profiteering of the corporations and the cold war. Profiteering and the cold war are the basic causes of the developing depression.

- The amount of production going into consumption was smaller in 1948 than at any time in 20 years. It is significant that less was going into consumption in 1949 than in 1929, which saw the biggest depression in history. Today's depression was precipitated by the fact that the gap between production and consumption has grown so great.
- Wages and salaries on an annual basis dropped $6,000,000,000 from the last quarter of 1948. This is a big sum—equal to the wages of some two and a half million people.
- The farmer's position has worsened. The purchasing power of his dollar has dropped 10% and his income has dropped 10% since last year.
- Concentration of savings is very great. The President's Report doesn't contain these figures, but Robert Nathan's analysis for the CIO shows that the upper 20% of the population salted away 93% of all savings in 1947, while the bottom 30% had no savings at all.
- In late 1948 the corporations were making more than 45c in profit on every dollar they disbursed in wages and salaries. (In early 1946 they made 25c in profit per payroll dollar.) In 1949 profits have gone down a little. But the big corporations are generally making as much as ever. Said U.S. News: "Actually, much of the decline in profits is being suffered by the smaller corporations. Many of the larger ones are going along with profits very little lower, if any."
- Wholesale prices dropped only 5% in the last six months due to the resistance of the monopolies to price cuts. Where prices were lowered, the cuts were not passed on to consumers. Consumer prices dropped only about 3% since the peak of last August.

Taken together, these facts, whose significance is concealed by the President, constitute an unmistakable signpost to depression.

What does Truman, who denies the depression, propose to do? How is the more realistic Wall St. preparing for the storm? *(See p. 3)*

The curtain lifts on the "Truman Transition"

At Indianapolis, left picture (above) shows prosperous farmers waiting in line with the first of the season's $700,000,000 crop, hoping there will be storage space for their wheat and they won't have to dump it on the ground. On the same day, Indianapolis Times took the picture (right) of "one of the year's longest lines of jobless seeking unemployment compensation." Picture agency caption comments: "This meant bread for one and grim thoughts of how to get it for the others."

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LOOK! U. S. free press hits bottom — p. 12

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Vol. I, No. 40 178 JULY 18, 1949

THE MAILBAG

Liberal, period

INGLEWOOD, CALIF.

Mr. Vito Marcantonio (GUARDIAN, June 27) calls Humphrey of Minnesota and Mrs. Douglas of California "fake" liberals. There is no such thing as a "fake" liberal. A politically conscious person may be a radical, a liberal, a conservative or a reactionary.

They are liberals, nothing more, nothing less. The job of the liberal, as he sees it, and whether or not you agree with him, is to compromise with the conservative and the reactionary on issues which he desires to be enacted into law, even though he may be forced to give ground on one or more points. He expects to give ground, whereas the radical scorns this half-a-loaf principle and demands strongly that his stand be accepted in toto.

It is doubtful whether this type of name-calling actually serves its purpose, or whether it merely further beclouds the issue in front of us.

Let us have writers who write fairly and accurately, and editors who know the rudiments of journalism. (And who, incidentally, can steer clear of libel suits). Yours for a bigger and better GUARDIAN.

D. E. Blakely

For Westbrook, screws

LAKELAND, FLA.

All of us, especially union men, should know that a subcommittee of Congress has Westbrook Pegler over a barrel, and has told him to name names to back up his many charges against union leaders. He has cravenly side-stepped, claiming he must get permission from his informants. Men have gone to jail for less. Organized labor should put on the screws and bring his stooges, stool-pigeons, hoods and scabs into the limelight.

H. Varner

No pussyfoots

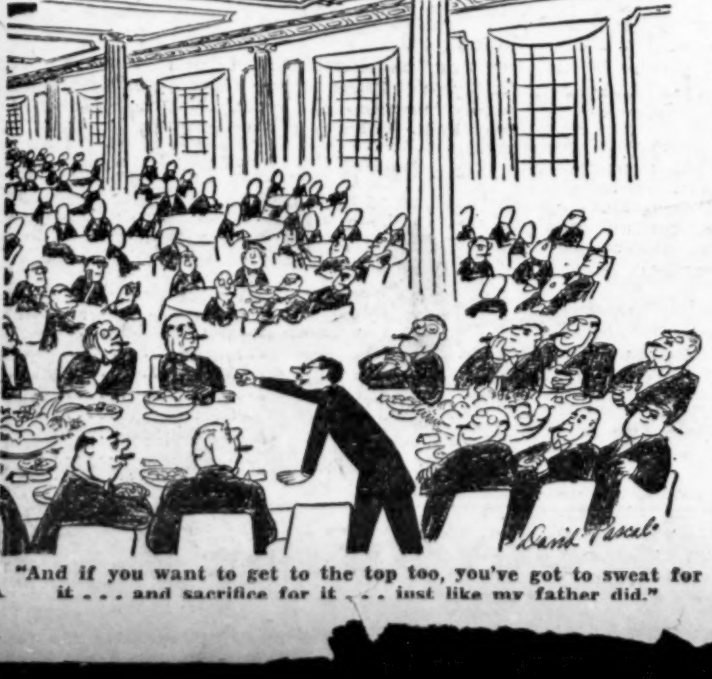
CHICAGO, ILL.

There appear to be some "pussyfoots" among our national and state leaders who would have the PP continue its 1948 policy of endorsing many "liberal" candidates of the old parties so as not to "split the liberal vote."

I hope other Progressives will join me in demanding that the PP enter ITS OWN CANDIDATES, in 1950, in every state and district where it is capable of waging an intensive campaign. Let us never forget that the PP was organized to give the people of our nation a REAL opportunity for choice at elections and to make it unnecessary to continue choosing between the lesser of two evils.

Too many Progressives are reconciled to remaining in the minority. The PP will never know its true strength in many areas unless it enters its own candidates.

Harold Blostein



"And if you want to get to the top too, you've got to sweat for it . . . and sacrifice for it . . . just like my father did."

That's America

HACKENSACK, N.J.

Recently I complained to a local bus company because an obstruction under the seat caused my stocking to be ruined. Believe it or not, to collect $1.50 damages I had to sign this "loyalty oath" in the "Release in Full:"

"I am a citizen of the United States of America, and have been a resident of and domiciled in the United States of America continuously since April 8, 1940, and I have no connection with any foreign government or Agency.

"Witness my hand and seal."

Alvena V. Seckar (Bunin)

Should children eat?

VAN ORMY, TEXAS

I want to ask any member of our state or federal governments when they intend to take up the problem of freedom from want in our own American families.

I challenge any lucky American who sits down before a bountiful table whether he actually thinks every little innocent child has enough to eat, much less the proper food for health.

I work here for a member of the Association of General Contractors. He has just been permitted to raise the price of his houses $400. I take what they will give an unorganized carpenter, and that happens to be $1.12½ an hour—take it or leave it. I cannot feed my family on this. My wife has a cancer, and we cannot afford proper medical care.

I believe there are enough church members in America today. If they had the love of Christ in their souls, not an American child would suffer for lack of food or warm clothes.

Food, food — it should be plentiful and within reach of everyone.

Virgil J. Cook

Voltaire and CRC

NEW YORK, N.Y.

At the recent conference of the Civil Rights Congress, a proposal was made that the CRC go on record officially in opposition to the indictment of the Socialist Workers Party under the Smith Act. Also against the "loyalty" dismissal of government worker James Kutcher because of membership in that party. (I had already read about the case in the GUARDIAN.)

I am a supporter of the Progressive Party because I am against denial of civil liberties to any group on any basis, political as well as social. On this particular issue the CRC is leaving the whole progressive movement open to attack from the angle that we only fight for "political civil rights" when it is the political rights of communists that are at stake.

The GUARDIAN, in bringing this serious shortcoming in the policy of the CRC to their attention, can only strengthen the ranks of the progressive movement from the "left" flank as it is now doing on the right.

Nelson Stone

Wanted: 4,999 more

PORTLAND, ME.

I know how 5,000 GUARDIAN readers who realize the necessity of expanding GUARDIAN's readership can boost it by 1,000,000-plus in a year.

If each one of 5,000 sends in a dollar and four names every week it will total more than 1,000,000. And certainly there are 5,000 subscribers who realize this goal must be attained.

In any case, I started last week on this system and plan to continue it for a year.

R.H.G.

Open-mouthed

DAYTON, IOWA

We were pleased to learn of the victory for the Trenton Six. Hooray for you and O. John Rogge. When he was "fired" by the government I said from my pulpit: "This is the beginning of the end of freedom of speech in our country." What waves of hysteria and fear to close mouths we have seen since that day

Rev. M. E. Dorr

Coplon posers

LEXINGTON, KY.

Our local afternoon paper, the Lexington **Leader,** today has an exultant, rather nasty, editorial on the conviction of Judith Coplon saying that Miss Coplon's relatives do not have the money to pay the expensive costs of appeal "so Soviet Russia must be paying for this."

Is there a national Judith Coplon Defense Fund Committee that one could send contributions to? If so, I would appreciate knowing its address. Many people locally, as elsewhere, are convinced that Miss Coplon is simply the victim of a vicious frame-up, and that this trial is part and parcel of the national campaign to destroy American liberties. If there is no Coplon Fund Committee, one should be organized promptly.

S. Allen McElfresh

Jennings Perry

The hole in Kentucky

I FORGET just how much gold it is they say we now have in that hole in the ground at Ft. Knox. One reads that it would weigh out to about four-fifths of all the gold in the world.

It is a mistake, I think, not to allow the general public to go in the hole and see it—for a small admission, of course, which would add up for charity. In that way we would get some good of the gold, at least more than we are getting now.

This gold is pretty stuff. It twinkles at us. We have earned it in the sweat of our brow, toiling in our fields and forests and mines and mills. It would be quite possible to divide it into heaps labeled "This we got for so many million bales of cotton," or "This for so many shiploads of wheat," or for harvesting machines, automobiles, oil or live ammunition. One pile could say "From our allies for what they needed to win wars."

Such exhibits would be educational for the children.

THE whole world—including us—would be better off right through here if the rest of the world had the four-fifths of the gold and we had the one-fifth. Then we could go on selling for export, all our wheels of industry would keep turning, all the sixty million would have jobs, and Mr. Truman would not have to worry.

Daily Express, London

"There's a gentleman outside who says he's got a formula for transmitting base metals into gold."

Our trouble is we will not play for anything but gold. The British can trade coal and jet fighters for a million tons of Russian wheat, but we do not need any wheat. The Poles can trade coal and wheat for Swedish steel and Argentine beef, but we cook steel and raise steers ourselves. The Czechs have shoes to sell but we have a tariff against Czech shoes. . . .

We won't play for anything but gold—and in the end we win all the marbles, and the game is over. Then we sit and look at our gold and have a depression.

SOMETIMES we try to keep the game going by handing back some of the gold we have won. We never actually go so far as to load the gold in planes and just shovel it out over the other nations. That would be too crude. When Prime Minister Attlee (I believe it was) suggested something like that a few years ago, we were made aghast.

The way we do it is through sight drafts—called Lend-Lease or recovery loans or the Marshall Plan or the Truman Doctrine: three billions here, a billion there, a billion to Chiang Kai-shek. This is the same as giving back the gold except that we keep a string on the gift. The gold could be spent anywhere; the drafts are honored only in American goods.

When we get tired of playing the game this way —that is, of just pretending to trade while really buying from ourselves through foreign agents—Congress sits back on the pursestrings. We still have the gold, and the have-not-gold peoples have to go to swapping goods with each other. Our mills slow down, the men are laid off, our farm surpluses stack up, and we have our depression anyway.

IT IS a sorry game. It is a makeshift system. If we have got to redistribute our national net profit periodically in order to keep our mills turning and our farmers solvent, it was far better to put the buying power in the hands of our own people—through higher wages, lower prices and public works—in the first place.

We **could** use the goods we produce ourselves; and the frabjous gold in the hole in the ground in Kentucky would go right on being as mch of a curiosity, as precious—for filling teeth—as ever.

UAW convention

Reuther's new hat

By Irving Richter

MILWAUKEE

WALTER REUTHER was launched by a whopping 90% vote on his third term as president of the United Auto Workers (CIO). On Friday the UAW convention was considering a resolution that would make his power virtually absolute. On the agenda of the UAW convention here was a resolution empowering Reuther to scoop up any member in any local and try him before a hand-picked jury for violating top-leadership directives. Expulsion of Reuther's opponents would be facilitated.

Reuther's slate made a clean sweep of all top offices and won absolute control of the 23-man international executive board.

The only setback to the program was an unexpected 3-to-2 defeat of a proposal to hold conventions every two years instead of annually. After this defeat Reuther held a caucus of his followers and a 20-month "compromise" interval between conventions was adopted.

NEW-LOOK KEYNOTE: Rival candidates had campaigned against Reuther on pledges to eliminate "escalator clauses" in contracts which tie wages to cost of living fluctuations, to oppose speedup, to make a militant drive for wage increases, and to end raiding of left-wing unions.

In his keynote speech and through the convention Reuther stole most of this thunder. Heretofore placing pension and health protection plans above wages, Reuther switched the emphasis in his opening report and suggested strongly that he was ready to strike the Ford Motor Co. in the union's first big test on a fourth round of wage increases. The Ford contract expired Friday. One problem before the convention was: how to raise a $10,000,000 strike fund in a hurry.

To reporters he announced the union would sign no more "escalator clause" contracts such as it now holds with GM with a year to run yet. Formerly Reuther has insisted that speedup was a false issue inspired by "communists"; at the convention he made militant declarations against increased production rates in most auto plants.

BLOOD: But on raiding he held fast. With a small show of opposition the convention adopted a resolution recommending that charters of left-wing unions be revoked and that "CIO Organizing Committees" be set up to take over their membership.

The Convention also voted to give UAW jurisdiction over all farm equipment workers The Auto Workers' attempt to take over the CIO Farm Equipment Workers Union has been a long bitter, costly and unsuccessful effort.

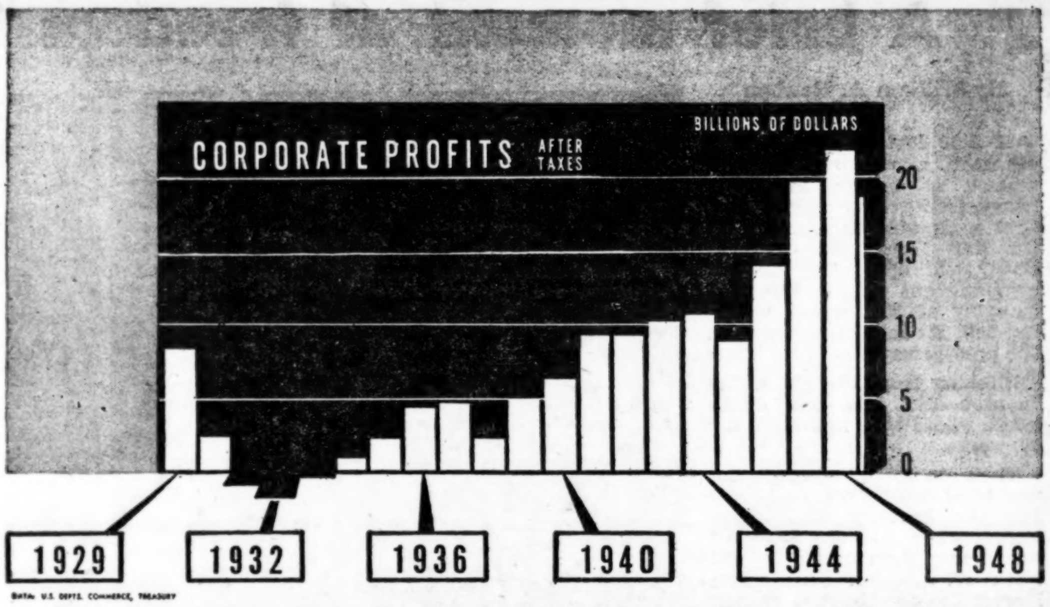
Convention stage managers carefully avoided endorsing the Democratic Party, preferred to speak of "independent action" and "realignment" of the two old parties. But they gave full backing to Pres. Truman's "Fair Deal," including the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact.

COURAGE: There was one clear bright spot when the convention passed a resolution condemning loyalty investigations and asking the President to "establish a National Commission of outstanding citizens from all walks of life to make an exhaustive review of all loyalty procedures, including the FBI."

Colleges and universities which defied a request by the House Committee On Un-American Activities to submit their text books for review were applauded for a "courageous defense of academic freedom."

CIO president Phil Murray, who was to have been a key speaker at the convention, was unable to attend because of pending strike action in the steel industry. (See "Cold Steel," p. 7)

"TREASON": Held over to the last day, along with constitutional changes, was one of the bitterest issues of the gathering: trial of two founders of the union, Tracy Doll and Sam Sage, both leaders of the anti-Reuther forces, on "treason" charges. Their crime was publication of a suppressed 1946 report on UAW racketeering in New Jersey. Two regional directors involved in the gangsterism charges, Charles Kerrigan and Martin Gerber, were re-elected by the convention.



In an anlaysis prepared for the CIO, "A National Economy Policy for 1949," Robert Nathan shows that profiteering by the corporations has resulted in economic dislocations and deteriorating business conditions in the past nine months. His analysis shows that wage increases can be paid out of profits. He doesn't think a major depression is imminent; but urges action to avoid further economic deterioration. Like the President, he ignores the cold war as cause of the present crisis.

(Continued from p. 1)

Here's what Truman won't do about the depression he says isn't there

THE official labor movement, like the President, is closing its eyes to the realities of America's economic predicament. But Wall St. is getting ready—by cutting production and employment and keeping prices high to maintain its exorbitant rate of profit.

Payroll and production cuts while prices are kept high was the pattern of the 1929 depression, and it is the pattern today. The steel trust, for example, has cut production more than 25% since March with no change in prices. The effect has been on payrolls—throwing workers out of jobs.

The President cannot acknowledge the depression since it results from his own policies—the cold war and profiteering which are impoverishing the people. By the same token, he cannot move to stop it, since this would require action against monopoly and a halt to the cold war.

LET US STUDY: The remedies he does propose will in fact sharpen economic dislocations since they are the Hoover remedies of aiding big business.

Truman withdrew his demand, made during the campaign, for an excess profits tax, and proposed lightening corporation taxes by permitting carry-over of losses. By contrast, he did not propose an end to excise taxes—really sales taxes—which weigh heavily on the mass of the people.

Again, for the corporations, Truman advocated liberalization of RFC loans. He further placated big business by not demanding public works spending. In the Hoover tradition, he asked "studies" and "advance planning."

NICE GESTURE: For the jobless, Truman asked almost nothing. His demand for more unemployment insurance was vague and left action to the states.

For jobless veterans not covered by unemployment insurance he asked an extension for one year of 52-20.

For the people, Truman had a gesture. He repeated his social security proposals, long bogged down in Congress.

THE HIGH SIGN: For labor, on the eve of its fourth round wage fight, Truman had not a word of support. The total economic burden of his message, as the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** commented, was against wage increases. Truman asked employers not to cut wages, just as Hoover did in November, 1929.

Employers took Hoover's request as a signal for a wage cut and will undoubtedly interpret Truman's gentle plea in the same way.

Tabitha Petran

Kulturni Politika, Prague

Safe at last!

Unemployment state by state

The picture fills in

REPORTS on unemployment continued to reach the GUARDIAN last week, many of them from Progressive Party organizations:

TUCSON, ARIZ.—A statewide increase in unemployment of 83.2% for June, 1949, over June, 1948, concealed alarming percentages of as high as 309% in Winslow, 282.5% in Bisbee, 224% in Douglas. The increase rate in Tucson was 98.7% for the period, with such localities as Kingman, Globe and Yuma ranging up to 170% increases.

Cutbacks in Winslow and elsewhere were due to lumber mill layoffs. Mine shutdowns accounted for Bisbee and Douglas levels of unemployed. Phoenix showed a 63% increase in unemployed, Flagstaff 41%.

Total figures for the state showed 45,594 unemployed in June as against 24,000 for June, 1948.

HARTFORD, CONN.—Well over 100,000 are unemployed in Connecticut, including 10,000 who have exhausted relief benefits, 10,000 not covered by compensation but out of work nevertheless, and more than 82,000 who were receiving compensation at the start of June. This amounts to 12% of the state's labor force, or about one in eight unemployed, according to the People's Party of Connecticut.

In Brass Valley, Waterbury, Torrington, Ansonia etc., an estimated 1 of every 3 factory workers is unemployed. Others have had work weeks cut back to 2 or 3 days a week. In Waterbury, relief funds are exhausted. Other cities are unprepared for the growing relief load.

CONCORD, N.H.—The Progressive Party of N.H. has set up a 10-man committee to plan for a "stop-the-depression" conference next month. While the unemployment figure of 22,700 for the state in May represented ½ of 1% reduction under April, it was almost twice the figure for May, 1948 (11,400). The April decline was the first in eight months.

Total unemployment represents about 11% of the state's labor force, the great bulk of it in textiles. Manchester had 6,500 unemployed as compared with 3,000 a year ago. Textiles are among commodities sought from U.S.A. by eastern European countries.

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Jennings Perry

The hole in Kentucky

I FORGET just how much gold it is they say we now have in that hole in the ground at Ft. Knox. One reads that it would weigh out to about four-fifths of all the gold in the world.

It is a mistake, I think, not to allow the general public to go in the hole and see it—for a small admission, of course, which would add up for charity. In that way we would get some good of the gold, at least more than we are getting now.

This gold is pretty stuff. It twinkles at us. We have earned it in the sweat of our brow, toiling in our fields and forests and mines and mills. It would be quite possible to divide it into heaps labeled "This we got for so many million bales of cotton," or "This for so many shiploads of wheat," or for harvesting machines, automobiles, oil or live ammunition. One pile could say "From our allies for what they needed to win wars."

Such exhibits would be educational for the children.

THE whole world—including us—would be better off right through here if the rest of the world had the four-fifths of the gold and we had the one-fifth. Then we could go on selling for export, all our wheels of industry would keep turning, all the sixty million would have jobs, and Mr. Truman would not have to worry.

Daily Express, London

"There's a gentleman outside who says he's got a formula for transmitting base metals into gold."

Our trouble is we will not play for anything but gold. The British can trade coal and jet fighters for a million tons of Russian wheat, but we do not need any wheat. The Poles can trade coal and wheat for Swedish steel and Argentine beef, but we cook steel and raise steers ourselves. The Czechs have shoes to sell but we have a tariff against Czech shoes. . . .

We won't play for anything but gold—and in the end we win all the marbles, and the game is over. Then we sit and look at our gold and have a depression.

SOMETIMES we try to keep the game going by handing back some of the gold we have won. We never actually go so far as to load the gold in planes and just shovel it out over the other nations. That would be too crude. When Prime Minister Attlee (I believe it was) suggested something like that a few years ago, we were made aghast.

The way we do it is through sight drafts—called Lend-Lease or recovery loans or the Marshall Plan or the Truman Doctrine: three billions here, a billion there, a billion to Chiang Kai-shek. This is the same as giving back the gold except that we keep a string on the gift. The gold could be spent anywhere; the drafts are honored only in American goods.

When we get tired of playing the game this way —that is, of just pretending to trade while really buying from ourselves through foreign agents—Congress sits back on the pursestrings. We still have the gold, and the have-not-gold peoples have to go to swapping goods with each other. Our mills slow down, the men are laid off, our farm surpluses stack up, and we have our depression anyway.

IT IS a sorry game. It is a makeshift system. If we have got to redistribute our national net profit periodically in order to keep our mills turning and our farmers solvent, it was far better to put the buying power in the hands of our own people—through higher wages, lower prices and public works—in the first place.

We could use the goods we produce ourselves; and the frabjous gold in the hole in the ground in Kentucky would go right on being as mch of a curiosity, as precious—for filling teeth—as ever.

UAW convention

Reuther's new hat

By Irving Richter

MILWAUKEE

WALTER REUTHER was launched by a whopping 90% vote on his third term as president of the United Auto Workers (CIO). On Friday the UAW convention was considering a resolution that would make his power virtually absolute. On the agenda of the UAW convention here was a resolution empowering Reuther to scoop up any member in any local and try him before a hand-picked jury for violating top-leadership directives. Expulsion of Reuther's opponents would be facilitated.

Reuther's slate made a clean sweep of all top offices and won absolute control of the 23-man international executive board.

The only setback to the program was an unexpected 3-to-2 defeat of a proposal to hold conventions every two years instead of annually. After this defeat Reuther held a caucus of his followers and a 20-month "compromise" interval between conventions was adopted.

NEW-LOOK KEYNOTE: Rival candidates had campaigned against Reuther on pledges to eliminate "escalator clauses" in contracts which tie wages to cost of living fluctuations, to oppose speedup, to make a militant drive for wage increases, and to end raiding of left-wing unions.

In his keynote speech and through the convention Reuther stole most of this thunder. Heretofore placing pension and health protection plans above wages, Reuther switched the emphasis in his opening report and suggested strongly that he was ready to strike the Ford Motor Co. in the union's first big test on a fourth round of wage increases. The Ford contract expired Friday. One problem before the convention was: how to raise a $10,000,000 strike fund in a hurry.

To reporters he announced the union would sign no more "escalator clause" contracts such as it now holds with GM with a year to run yet. Formerly Reuther has insisted that speedup was a false issue inspired by "communists"; at the convention he made militant declarations against increased production rates in most auto plants.

BLOOD: But on raiding he held fast. With a small show of opposition the convention adopted a resolution recommending that charters of left-wing unions be revoked and that "CIO Organizing Committees" be set up to take over their membership.

The Convention also voted to give UAW jurisdiction over all farm equipment workers The Auto Workers' attempt to take over the CIO Farm Equipment Workers Union has been a long bitter, costly and unsuccessful effort.

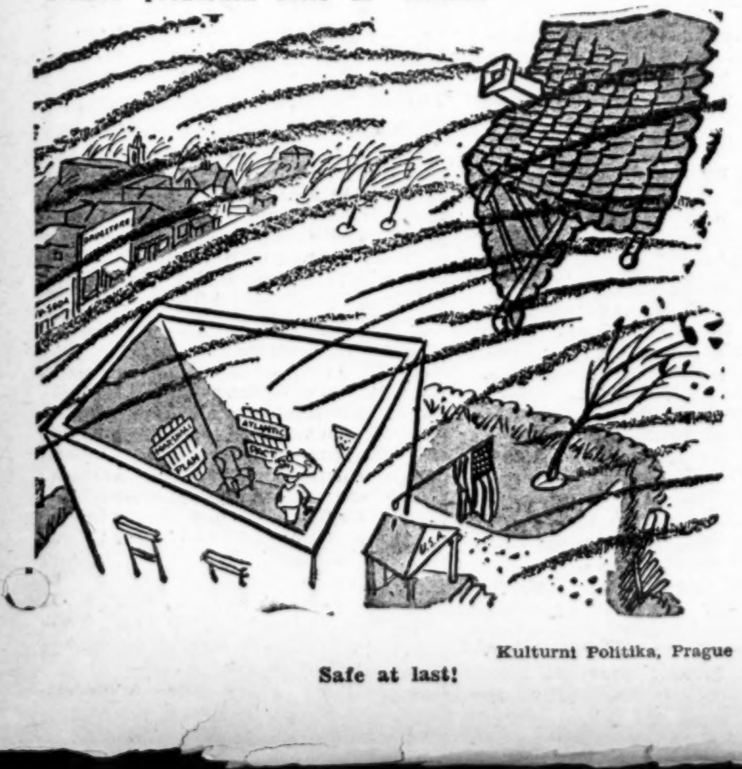
Convention stage managers carefully avoided endorsing the Democratic Party, preferred to speak of "independent action" and "realignment" of the two old parties. But they gave full backing to Pres. Truman's "Fair Deal," including the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact.

COURAGE: There was one clear bright spot when the convention passed a resolution condemning loyalty investigations and asking the President to "establish a National Commission of outstanding citizens from all walks of life to make an exhaustive review of all loyalty procedures, including the FBI."

Colleges and universities which defied a request by the House Committee On Un-American Activities to submit their text books for review were applauded for a "courageous defense of academic freedom."

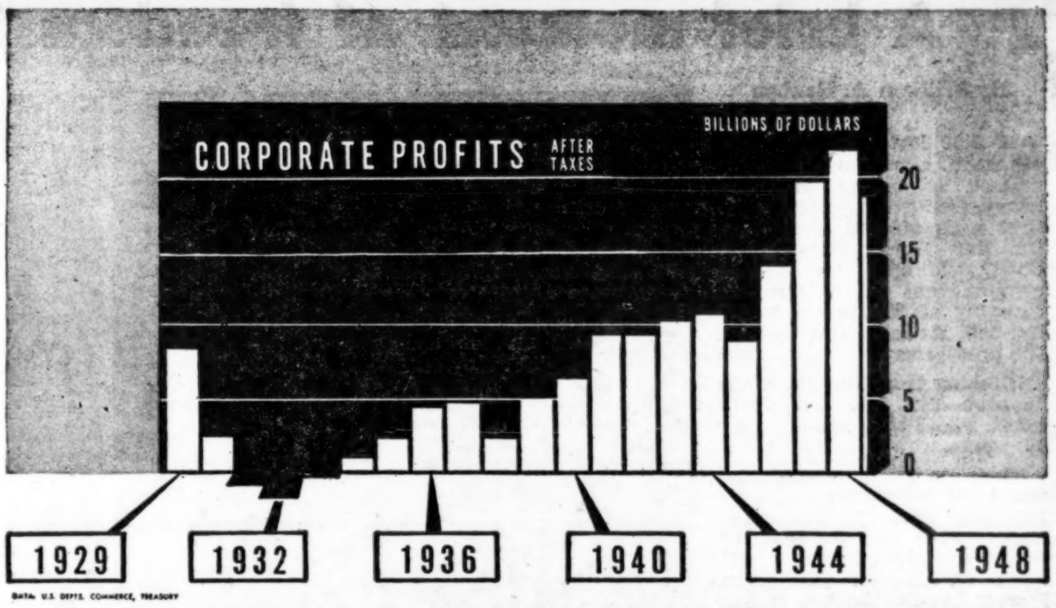
CIO president Phil Murray, who was to have been a key speaker at the convention, was unable to attend because of pending strike action in the steel industry. (See "Cold Steel," p. 7)

"TREASON": Held over to the last day, along with constitutional changes, was one of the bitterest issues of the gathering: trial of two founders of the union, Tracy Doll and Sam Sage, both leaders of the anti-Reuther forces, on "treason" charges. Their crime was publication of a suppressed 1946 report on UAW racketeering in New Jersey. Two regional directors involved in the gangsterism charges, Charles Kerrigan and Martin Gerber, were re-elected by the convention.



Kulturni Politika, Prague

Safe at last!



In an anlaysis prepared for the CIO, "A National Economy Policy for 1949," Robert Nathan shows that profiteering by the corporations has resulted in economic dislocations and deteriorating business conditions in the past nine months. His analysis shows that wage increases can be paid out of profits. He doesn't think a major depression is imminent; but urges action to avoid further economic deterioration. Like the President, he ignores the cold war as cause of the present crisis.

(Continued from p. 1)

Here's what Truman won't do about the depression he says isn't there

THE official labor movement, like the President, is closing its eyes to the realities of America's economic predicament. But Wall St. is getting ready—by cutting production and employment and keeping prices high to maintain its exorbitant rate of profit.

Payroll and production cuts while prices are kept high was the pattern of the 1929 depression, and it is the pattern today. The steel trust, for example, has cut production more than 25% since March with no change in prices. The effect has been on payrolls—throwing workers out of jobs.

The President cannot acknowledge the depression since it results from his own policies—the cold war and profiteering which are impoverishing the people. By the same token, he cannot move to stop it, since this would require action against monopoly and a halt to the cold war.

LET US STUDY: The remedies he does propose will in fact sharpen economic dislocations since they are the Hoover remedies of aiding big business.

Truman withdrew his demand, made during the campaign, for an excess profits tax, and proposed lightening corporation taxes by permitting carry-over of losses. By contrast, he did not propose an end to excise taxes—really sales taxes—which weigh heavily on the mass of the people.

Again, for the corporations, Truman advocated liberalization of RFC loans. He further placated big business by not demanding public works spending. In the Hoover tradition, he asked "studies" and "advance planning."

NICE GESTURE: For the jobless, Truman asked almost nothing. His demand for more unemployment insurance was vague and left action to the states.

For jobless veterans not covered by unemployment insurance he asked an extension for one year of 52-20.

For the people, Truman had a gesture. He repeated his social security proposals, long bogged down in Congress.

THE HIGH SIGN: For labor, on the eve of its fourth round wage fight, Truman had not a word of support. The total economic burden of his message, as the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** commented, was against wage increases. Truman asked employers not to cut wages, just as Hoover did in November, 1929.

Employers took Hoover's request as a signal for a wage cut and will undoubtedly interpret Truman's gentle plea in the same way.

Tabitha Petran

Unemployment state by state

The picture fills in

REPORTS on unemployment continued to reach the GUARDIAN last week, many of them from Progressive Party organizations:

TUCSON, ARIZ.—A statewide increase in unemployment of 83.2% for June, 1949, over June, 1948, concealed alarming percentages of as high as 309% in Winslow, 282.5% in Bisbee, 224% in Douglas. The increase rate in Tucson was 98.7% for the period, with such localities as Kingman, Globe and Yuma ranging up to 170% increases.

Cutbacks in Winslow and elsewhere were due to lumber mill layoffs. Mine shutdowns accounted for Bisbee and Douglas levels of unemployed. Phoenix showed a 63% increase in unemployed, Flagstaff 41%.

Total figures for the state showed 45,594 unemployed in June as against 24,000 for June, 1948.

HARTFORD, CONN.—Well over 100,000 are unemployed in Connecticut, including 10,000 who have exhausted relief benefits, 10,000 not covered by compensation but out of work nevertheless, and more than 82,000 who were receiving compensation at the start of June. This amounts to 12% of the state's labor force, or about one in eight unemployed, according to the People's Party of Connecticut.

In Brass Valley, Waterbury, Torrington, Ansonia etc., an estimated 1 of every 3 factory workers is unemployed. Others have had work weeks cut back to 2 or 3 days a week. In Waterbury, relief funds are exhausted. Other cities are unprepared for the growing relief load.

CONCORD, N.H.—The Progressive Party of N.H. has set up a 10-man committee to plan for a "stop-the-depression" conference next month. While the unemployment figure of 22,700 for the state in May represented ½ of 1% reduction under April, it was almost twice the figure for May, 1948 (11,400). The April decline was the first in eight months.

Total unemployment represents about 11% of the state's labor force, the great bulk of it in textiles. Manchester had 6,500 unemployed as compared with 3,000 a year ago. Textiles are among commodities sought from U.S.A. by eastern European countries.

A brief moment of freedom for the Trenton Six

By William A. Reuben

TRENTON

AT 3:30 last Tuesday afternoon a uniformed guard pressed a button and the heavy, iron-grilled double-door that seals off the inmates of the New Jersey State Prison slowly slid open. To the accompaniment of the insistent clanging of the prison warning-bell, six men filed through the passageway.

Blinking from the glare, the Trenton Six left the death house where they had lived for 49 weeks.

Their moment of freedom was brief. No sooner had they left the custody of warden George Page and the State of New Jersey than Under Sheriff John W. Condon and seven Mercer County deputies rushed forward to greet them—with chains and handcuffs.

There were some 25 persons in the waiting-room. As if on signal, they gasped and began talking at once.

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A local reporter standing next to me said: "Why, that McKinley Forrest must have gained 30 pounds."

The Trenton Six leave N. J. State Prison for Mercer County Jail to await their retrial, set for October. Left to right, they are: James H. Thorpe, Collis English, Ralph Cooper, John McKenzie, Horace Wilson, McKinley Forrest. Unable to receive mail in the death house, they know little of the fight for justice for them.

"IT FEELS FINE": As soon as the Six were manacled, deputies herded them into the mail room. McKinley Forrest and Horace Wilson were the first to emerge.

Handcuffed together, both were clad in identical, ill-fitting, green, single-breasted sack suits. The state's obligation was to provide them with suits; it was not obliged to give them belts. Both men, with one free hand, clutched tightly to their loose-fitting pants to keep them from falling down.

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MOTHERS, KEEP OUT: English's mother was standing outside the prison entrance, as were Forrest's 12-year-old daughter, Jean, and his brother, Robert. Mrs. English moved toward her son as he came down the steps, but a husky deputy blocked her path and, while English was turned the other way being posed for photographers, said: "Aw no, you don't. No one's going near them."

At the Mercer County jail, seven blocks away, it was visiting day. The six men were quickly led up the steps, and Warden George B. Glasco refused to allow anyone to see them.

"I'm not going to make a three-ring circus out of this," Glasco said. "They're just like any other prisoners. Anyone who wants to see them can come back Friday."

20 MINUTES: The warden looked out of his office and briefly watched guards examine the Six for concealed weapons. He shook his head from side to side. "They don't look like it hurt them none," he said, chuckling. "Looks like they thrived on it."

At ten minutes to four—exactly twenty minutes after they had entered the waiting-room of the state prison—they were behind bars again.

The Trenton Six victory is being celebrated by progressives all over the world. To the Six it means only that the guard who delivers food to their cells receives his salary from the City of Trenton, instead of the State of New Jersey.

But the Six are allowed to receive mail now. Why not write to them?

Trenton press

Trenton newspapers played down the significance of the N.J. Supreme Court's reversal of the Trenton Six convictions.

Trenton **Times** saved until the 23rd paragraph of a 31-paragraph story the information that the decision had rejected police tactics in forcing confessions from five of the six, and had criticized the trial judge for refusing the defense the right to subpena fingerprint records which might have cleared the accused men.

Trentonian fretted that retrial might be delayed until Christmas. Attorney O. John Rogge, **Trentonian** feared, would "file objection in the same manner as was done in the trial of Eugene Dennis, secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S."

Spy hunters

Hiss free—press furious

HAVING tasted the blood of one spy-hunt victim — lonely, 28-year-old government girl Judith Coplon—the free press of America howled like a pack of werewolves last week at the failure of judge and jury to deliver another marked victim, Alger Hiss.

Hiss was not charged with espionage at all. The charge was perjury for denying libels aimed at him by Whittaker Chambers, confessed spy, perjurer and stool pigeon—a man Hiss had befriended 15 years ago when Chambers, under a false name, was posing as an unemployed and homeless writer "of the Jack London or Jim Tully type" according to Hiss' recollection.

The alleged libels were that Hiss was a Communist, and he and his wife obtained and copied State Dept. documents for Chambers, who then transmitted them to Russian agents here. Hiss, a State Dept. official who organized and was secretary of the first UN conference at San Francisco in 1945 and later became head of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, sued Chambers for libel because of his accusations. The government, in turn, got Hiss indicted by a federal grand jury for perjury in denying them.

ON JULY 8, after a trial lasting 25 days before Federal Judge Samuel H. Kaufman, the jury three times reported disagreement and was dismissed after being out 30 hours. The final vote of the jury was 8 for conviction, 4 for acquittal.

In the course of the trial Chambers admitted to seven instances of perjury. The government, in its charges of perjury against Hiss, was in no instance able to offer the corroboration required by law for conviction for perjury.

In a less charged atmosphere, the case might well have been thrown out of court. Instead it went to a jury which, judging by later statements and requests for additional evidence, apparently sought to judge Alger Hiss not for perjury but for espionage. In the course of the trial Judge Kaufman carefully separated these issues for the jury, overruling the prosecutor Murphy's contention that "the two are inextricably connected."

THE JUDGE supported defense attorney Lloyd Paul Stryker's contention that the issue was perjury alone as stated in the indictment, and that prosecution for espionage was ruled out by a three-year statute of limitations.

All last week the U.S. press (with the notable exception of the **N. Y. Compass**) was furious with indignation over the jury's failure to convict. Congressional publicity seekers got huge headlines demanding an investigation of Judge Kaufman. The Detroit **Free Press** and the Chicago **Tribune** cited the dissatisfaction of some bar associations over Kaufman's nomination to federal judgeship in the first place. The Republican N.Y. **Herald Tribune** tracked down the jurors one by one in an attempt to show the judge's "bias." The **World-Telegram** (Scripps-Howard) and Hearst papers seized on a planted rumor that the jury foreman had expressed a pre-trial opinion that Hiss was innocent.

HISS JUDGE KEPT JUROR U. S. PROTESTED, the Hearst **Journal-American** lied in its headline; other headlines followed suit. The facts, from the trial record: pre-trial bias was not established; the judge offered to dismiss the juror upon government motion for mistrial; the prosecutor announced that he was "not moving for a mistrial in words, substance, effect, or inference."

THREE ASPECTS of the case help explain the press fury:

1. The case has been freely interpreted as a trial, not of Hiss, but of President Roosevelt's policies of seeking agreement with the Soviet Union (Hiss was present as a State Dept. official at Yalta and Dumbarton Oaks). Nearly 90% of the U.S. press opposed FDR's policies.

2. The press as a whole has sought to substitute Chambers' "spy" allegations for the real issue in the trial—whether or not Hiss committed perjury. The trial proved Chambers a perjurer seven times over in the course of failing to prove Hiss a perjurer in even one instance. **No significant section of the press has demanded Chambers' indictment.**

3. If Hiss did not perjure himself, then his libel suit against Chambers stands a good chance of standing up in court. And if that happens Hiss might also sue hundreds of newspapers which made gleeful copy of Chambers' wild accusations.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

The President pours

IN PITTSBURGH, Pa., last week five factory jobs were advertised by a food processing firm. In the first morning after the ad appeared, 1,500 men applied.

In Brooklyn Michael Truden, a veteran, shot and killed himself in his bedroom because he could not find a job.

From Geneva, Switzerland, Michael Hoffman of the N.Y. **Times** wrote: "The United States has advised the United Nations that it has no specific program to combat general unemployment."

At his desk in the White House on Wednesday night President Truman told a nationwide radio audience: "If we were in a depression I would be the first person to tell you, and I would call upon all the resources of the nation to stop it."

FAINT ECHO: The President tentatively, cautiously summoned up the ghost of Franklin Roosevelt. He faintly echoed FDR's blasts against "selfish interests." He had a good word for what the New Deal had accomplished in "cushioning blows."

Taken with his mid-year economic report, submitted to Congress earlier in the week, the President had presented his view of the nation: We did not have a depression but we did have something to worry about. Whatever it was, it was caused mainly by Republican reduction of taxes and "selfish interests."

Not enough sugar

No one got very excited about the President's dim view. Businessmen bridled at the New Deal language and the appellation "selfish interest." But the **Journal of Commerce** thought the report "about as strong as a cup of tea," though it wished "it could have been a little sweeter." (Sugar helpings for business were liberal: see pp. 1 & 3).

In Congress Sen. Sparkman (D-Ala.) said austerely: "I am not willing to anticipate a depression and encourage deficit spending." Sen. Wherry (R-Neb.), shaking hands across party lines, agreed: "The Administration is taking us right down the avenue of deficit spending, and I don't know how we could go into the ditch faster or deeper."

TOO MUCH: Henry Wallace commented that the President "fails even to mention the most glaring imbalance in the national economy, the swollen profits of the great corporations which exercise a stranglehold over the American economy, and the steadily diminishing buying power of most people.

"The most important single contribution that the government could make today to lift buying power and stem the depression would be full support to labor's just demands for fourth round wage increases which can be paid out of corporate profits."

The Truman Doctrine takes a 10% cut, but it still stacks up to $3,778,000,000 (billions, that is) in new ERP spending power. The appropriators: Senators McKellar, Saltonstall, Robertson, McCarran, Ferguson and Bridges.

OUT OF THE PIGEONHOLES: Four of the major points in the President's speech have been on the congressional agenda for months. They were: (1) strengthen the unemployment compensation provisions; (2) raise benefits and extend coverage of old-age insurance; (3) increase the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour; and (4) adopt the Brannan Plan of income supports for farmers, by direct subsidy while allowing prices in the grocery store to drop.

These measures had gathered dust in legislative pigeonholes undisturbed by any executive activity. As the week ended it was a toss-up whether the Brannan bill would continue to lie quietly or be killed outright. Two of the President's stalwarts, Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) and Adolph Sabath (D-Ill.), joined in a move for a substitute for the Brannan bill. They would continue the present law which gives farmers 90% of parity on most crops. The Republicans are pressing for the Hope-Aiken bill which would let farmers' prices slip on a sliding scale of 90%-60% parity.

One other item in the President's recipe: the act raising minimum wages to 75c an hour was expected to come out on the Senate floor as soon as the North Atlantic Pact was out of the way.

WASHINGTON

Pact: slight squalls

WHEN Sen. Tom Connally (D-Tex.) stood up to start the debate on the North Atlantic Pact a week ago he was certain ratification would come by last Wednesday. At the end of the week the debate, often angry, was still on. How long it would continue no one could tell; opposition was stronger than had been expected. Newspaper columnists began to speculate on possible defeat of the Pact if the talk continued long enough.

Already there was a major break in the old bipartisan line-up on foreign policy. Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-O.), opposing, said the treaty would "do far more to bring about a third world war than it will ever do to maintain the peace of the world." He favored a simple extension of the Monroe Doctrine to Europe.

Even many who argued for ratification didn't have their heart in it. Sen. Gillette (D-Ia.) said he would vote for it "with the greatest reluctance, with deep misgivings, with grave doubts and qualms." The whole program, he said, was "brass knuckle diplomacy."

DULLES HUSTLES: Sen. John Foster Dulles, an architect of the Pact, lost no time hustling to Washington to get in on the debate. Less than 24 hours after he was named by New York's Gov. Dewey to fill the vacancy left by Sen. Wagner's resignation, he was sworn in and plumping for the Pact whole hog.

It was the arms bill to back up the Pact that was a stumbling block to many. All week long they tried vainly to get Pact proponents to declare unequivocally that ratification wouldn't commit the U.S. to arming Western Europe. The declaration was not forthcoming.

ARTIFICIAL ALARM: One interesting revelation about U.S. foreign policy was made by Sen. Dulles. The U.S. delegation to the recent Big Four meeting, he said, seriously discussed the question of keeping the American people "artificially alarmed" to sustain world tension. Later Secretary of State Dean Acheson admitted the idea had been discussed, but rejected.

In any case, U.S. citizens seemed quietly unalarmed last week. As Sen. Elmer Thomas (D-Okla.) said: "I think everyone agrees right now that Russia is in no condition for another war. Not too long ago, we were told we might be bombed any minute."

Continued on following page

Max Werner

Pact or no, the brass may have to go off the gold-braid standard

THE argument for the almost-forgotten Atlantic Pact in the Senate last week had the hollow sound of a voice from the grave. For the Pact is a child of the tumultous and jittery year of 1948, with its uncertainty and fears. It does not fit into the picture of 1949. The economic crisis with its urgent demands has overshadowed it completely.

Great Britain, with her economy bleeding, today cares very little about the Pact. "This is a moment of supreme crisis," Minister of Fuel and Power Gaitskell told the miners in South Wales. "The position is far too serious for just depression." We in the U.S. have not yet agreed how to fight out of our own recession. France is in the throes of a permanent budget deficit.

MORNING AFTER: A massive rearmament under these conditions would be sheer lunacy; it has been already ruled out as economically absurd. As the solidly Republican **U. S. News** reports, Secretary Johnson may warn our military leaders that they will have to cut spending. To bring our budget into shape, **U. S. News** thinks, military expenses must be cut to some 3 to 5 billion dollars.

The main illusion of boisterous 1948 was that we can have recovery and rearmament at the same time. Now that it has been shattered to pieces, there is no conviction and no persuasiveness in the arguments for the Pact. Nobody knows exactly what its obligations and cost really are. Its promoters would like to affirm now that they are rather nominal. **But without massive re-[...]ment the Pact will remain a scrap of paper.**

The Pact has no calculated strategic base whatsoever. Our own military policy has worked out no decision, yet the clash between Army and Air Force strategy remains in its old vigor. No settlement can be achieved about the strategic common program of the U. S. and the European allies, because of our own strategic indecision and the incurable military weakness of the allies.

SPEECHES WON'T DO IT. Senator Vandenberg spoke of our "instant and competent allies." A bigger self-deception can hardly be formulated. None of our European allies is militarily solvent, and with the only and qualified exception of Great Britain none is capable of any earnest military move. Yet Senator Vandenberg warned these allies not to rely on any Maginot Line and not to expect any U. S. troops in Europe. On what, then, should they rely?

The debate on the Pact has been overcharged with appalling military illusions. First we pinned our hopes on the all-powerful atomic bomb; then on the non-existent Rhine line of defense; then on the tactical aviation of support; then on the rather small but tightly-knit tank force for mobile counter-manoeuver. Today the weapons of land defense seem to have gained priority; the recoilless small caliber gun, the anti-magnetic land mine, the small rocket weapons.

With this last tactical hobby again an error is being committed. No single weapon or set of defense can withstand the combined effect of a modern offensive army of assault aviation, artillery of all kinds, mobile infantry and tanks.

Offering Europe military illusions, the Atlantic Pact diverts us from Europe's real and urgent needs. There can be no short cut in the defense of Western Europe — unless she be defended by peace.

A brief moment of freedom for the Trenton Six

By William A. Reuben
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A few minutes later Collis English and James Thorpe, neither of whom resembled the police line-up photographs imaged in your mind, came out. All six were hustled outside. They were immediately separated and led by twos into two blue Ford sedans and a waiting station wagon.

MOTHERS, KEEP OUT: English's mother was standing outside the prison entrance, as were Forrest's 12-year-old daughter, Jean, and his brother, Robert. Mrs. English moved toward her son as he came down the steps, but a husky deputy blocked her path and, while English was turned the other way being posed for photographers, said: "Aw no, you don't. No one's going near them."

At the Mercer County jail, seven blocks away, it was visiting day. The six men were quickly led up the steps, and Warden George B. Glasco refused to allow anyone to see them.

"I'm not going to make a three-ring circus out of this," Glasco said. "They're just like any other prisoners. Anyone who wants to see them can come back Friday."

20 MINUTES: The warden looked out of his office and briefly watched guards examine the Six for concealed weapons. He shook his head from side to side. "They don't look like it hurt them none," he said, chuckling. "Looks like they thrived on it."

At ten minutes to four—exactly twenty minutes after they had entered the waiting-room of the state prison—they were behind bars again.

The Trenton Six victory is being celebrated by progressives all over the world. To the Six it means only that the guard who delivers food to their cells receives his salary from the City of Trenton, instead of the State of New Jersey.

But the Six are allowed to receive mail now. Why not write to them?

The Trenton Six leave N. J. State Prison for Mercer County Jail to await their retrial, set for October. Left to right, they are: James H. Thorpe, Collis English, Ralph Cooper, John McKenzie, Horace Wilson, McKinley Forrest. Unable to receive mail in the death house, they know little of the fight for justice for them.

Trenton press

Trenton newspapers played down the significance of the N.J. Supreme Court's reversal of the Trenton Six convictions.

Trenton **Times** saved until the 23rd paragraph of a 31-paragraph story the information that the decision had rejected police tactics in forcing confessions from five of the six, and had criticized the trial judge for refusing the defense the right to subpena fingerprint records which might have cleared the accused men.

Trentonian fretted that retrial might be delayed until Christmas. Attorney O. John Rogge, **Trentonian** feared, would "file objection in the same manner as was done in the trial of Eugene Dennis, secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S."

Spy hunters

Hiss free—press furious

HAVING tasted the blood of one spy-hunt victim — lonely, 28-year-old government girl Judith Coplon—the free press of America howled like a pack of werewolves last week at the failure of judge and jury to deliver another marked victim, Alger Hiss.

Hiss was not charged with espionage at all. The charge was perjury for denying libels aimed at him by Whittaker Chambers, confessed spy, perjurer and stool pigeon—a man Hiss had befriended 15 years ago when Chambers, under a false name, was posing as an unemployed and homeless writer "of the Jack London or Jim Tully type" according to Hiss' recollection.

The alleged libels were that Hiss was a Communist, and he and his wife obtained and copied State Dept. documents for Chambers, who then transmitted them to Russian agents here. Hiss, a State Dept. official who organized and was secretary of the first UN conference at San Francisco in 1945 and later became head of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, sued Chambers for libel because of his accusations. The government, in turn, got Hiss indicted by a federal grand jury for perjury in denying them.

ON JULY 8, after a trial lasting 25 days before Federal Judge Samuel H. Kaufman, the jury three times reported disagreement and was dismissed after being out 30 hours. The final vote of the jury was 8 for conviction, 4 for acquittal.

In the course of the trial Chambers admitted to seven instances of perjury. The government, in its charges of perjury against Hiss, was in no instance able to offer the corroboration required by law for conviction for perjury.

In a less charged atmosphere, the case might well have been thrown out of court. Instead it went to a jury which, judging by later statements and requests for additional evidence, apparently sought to judge Alger Hiss not for perjury but for espionage. In the course of the trial Judge Kaufman carefully separated these issues for the jury, overruling the prosecutor Murphy's contention that "the two are inextricably connected."

THE JUDGE supported defense attorney Lloyd Paul Stryker's contention that the issue was perjury alone as stated in the indictment, and that prosecution for espionage was ruled out by a three-year statute of limitations.

All last week the U.S. press (with the notable exception of the N. Y. **Compass**) was furious with indignation over the jury's failure to convict. Congressional publicity seekers got huge headlines demanding an investigation of Judge Kaufman. The Detroit **Free Press** and the Chicago **Tribune** cited the dissatisfaction of some bar associations over Kaufman's nomination to federal judgeship in the first place. The Republican N.Y. **Herald Tribune** tracked down the jurors one by one in an attempt to show the judge's "bias." The **World-Telegram** (Scripps-Howard) and Hearst papers seized on a planted rumor that the jury foreman had expressed a pre-trial opinion that Hiss was innocent.

HISS JUDGE KEPT JUROR U. S. PROTESTED, the Hearst **Journal-American** lied in its headline; other headlines followed suit. The facts, from the trial record: pre-trial bias was not established; the judge offered to dismiss the juror upon government motion for mistrial; the prosecutor announced that he was "not moving for a mistrial in words, substance, effect, or inference."

THREE ASPECTS of the case help explain the press fury:

1. The case has been freely interpreted as a trial, not of Hiss, but of President Roosevelt's policies of seeking agreement with the Soviet Union (Hiss was present as a State Dept. official at Yalta and Dumbarton Oaks). Nearly 90% of the U.S. press opposed FDR's policies.

2. The press as a whole has sought to substitute Chambers' "spy" allegations for the real issue in the trial—whether or not Hiss committed perjury. The trial proved Chambers a perjurer seven times over in the course of failing to prove Hiss a perjurer in even one instance. **No significant section of the press has demanded Chambers' indictment.**

3. If Hiss did not perjure himself, then his libel suit against Chambers stands a good chance of standing up in court. And if that happens Hiss might also sue hundreds of newspapers which made gleeful copy of Chambers' wild accusations.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

The President pours

IN PITTSBURGH, Pa., last week five factory jobs were advertised by a food processing firm. In the first morning after the ad appeared, 1,500 men applied.

In Brooklyn Michael Truden, a veteran, shot and killed himself in his bedroom because he could not find a job.

From Geneva, Switzerland, Michael Hoffman of the N.Y. **Times** wrote: "The United States has advised the United Nations that it has no specific program to combat general unemployment."

At his desk in the White House on Wednesday night President Truman told a nationwide radio audience: "If we were in a depression I would be the first person to tell you, and I would call upon all the resources of the nation to stop it."

FAINT ECHO: The President tentatively, cautiously summoned up the ghost of Franklin Roosevelt. He faintly echoed FDR's blasts against "selfish interests." He had a good word for what the New Deal had accomplished in "cushioning blows."

Taken with his mid-year economic report, submitted to Congress earlier in the week, the President had presented his view of the nation: We did not have a depression but we did have something to worry about. Whatever it was, it was caused mainly by Republican reduction of taxes and "selfish interests."

Not enough sugar

No one got very excited about the President's dim view. Businessmen bridled at the New Deal language and the appellation "selfish interest." But the **Journal of Commerce** thought the report "about as strong as a cup of tea," though it wished "it could have been a little sweeter." (Sugar helpings for business were liberal: see pp. 1 & 3).

In Congress Sen. Sparkman (D-Ala.) said austerely: "I am not willing to anticipate a depression and encourage deficit spending." Sen. Wherry (R-Neb.), shaking hands across party lines, agreed: "The Administration is taking us right down the avenue of deficit spending, and I don't know how we could go into the ditch faster or deeper."

TOO MUCH: Henry Wallace commented that the President "fails even to mention the most glaring imbalance in the national economy, the swollen profits of the great corporations which exercise a stranglehold over the American economy, and the steadily diminishing buying power of most people.

The Truman Doctrine takes a 10% cut, but it still stacks up to $3,778,000,000 (billions, that is) in new ERP spending power. The appropriators: Senators McKellar, Saltonstall, Robertson, McCarran, Ferguson and Bridges.

"The most important single contribution that the government could make today to lift buying power and stem the depression would be full support to labor's just demands for fourth

round wage increases which can be paid out of corporate profits."

OUT OF THE PIGEONHOLES: Four of the major points in the President's speech have been on the congressional agenda for months. They were: (1) strengthen the unemployment compensation provisions; (2) raise benefits and extend coverage of old-age insurance; (3) increase the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour; and (4) adopt the Brannan Plan of income supports for farmers, by direct subsidy while allowing prices in the grocery store to drop.

These measures had gathered dust in legislative pigeonholes undisturbed by any executive activity. As the week ended it was a toss-up whether the Brannan bill would continue to lie quietly or be killed outright. Two of the President's stalwarts, Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) and Adolph Sabath (D-Ill.), joined in a move for a substitute for the Brannan bill. They would continue the present law which gives farmers 90% of parity on most crops. The Republicans are pressing for the Hope-Aiken bill which would let farmers' prices slip on a sliding scale of 90%-60% parity.

One other item in the President's recipe: the act raising minimum wages to 75c an hour was expected to come out on the Senate floor as soon as the North Atlantic Pact was out of the way.

WASHINGTON

Pact: slight squalls

WHEN Sen. Tom Connally (D-Tex.) stood up to start the debate on the North Atlantic Pact a week ago he was certain ratification would come by last Wednesday. At the end of the week the debate, often angry, was still on. How long it would continue no one could tell; opposition was stronger than had been expected. Newspaper columnists began to speculate on possible defeat of the Pact if the talk continued long enough.

Already there was a major break in the old bipartisan line-up on foreign policy. Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-O.), opposing, said the treaty would "do far more to bring about a third world war than it will ever do to maintain the peace of the world." He favored a simple extension of the Monroe Doctrine to Europe.

Even many who argued for ratification didn't have their heart in it. Sen. Gillette (D-Ia.) said he would vote for it "with the greatest reluctance, with deep misgivings, with grave doubts and qualms." The whole program, he said, was "brass knuckle diplomacy."

DULLES HUSTLES: Sen. John Foster Dulles, an architect of the Pact, lost no time hustling to Washington to get in on the debate. Less than 24 hours after he was named by New York's Gov. Dewey to fill the vacancy left by Sen. Wagner's resignation, he was sworn in and plumping for the Pact whole hog.

It was the arms bill to back up the Pact that was a stumbling block to many. All week long they tried vainly to get Pact proponents to declare unequivocally that ratification wouldn't commit the U.S. to arming Western Europe. The declaration was not forthcoming.

ARTIFICIAL ALARM: One interesting revelation about U.S. foreign policy was made by Sen. Dulles. The U.S. delegation to the recent Big Four meeting, he said, seriously discussed the question of keeping the American people "artificially alarmed" to sustain world tension. Later Secretary of State Dean Acheson admitted the idea had been discussed, but rejected.

In any case, U.S. citizens seemed quietly unalarmed last week. As Sen. Elmer Thomas (D-Okla.) said: "I think everyone agrees right now that Russia is in no condition for another war. Not too long ago, we were told we might be bombed any minute."

Continued on following page

Max Werner

Pact or no, the brass may have to go off the gold-braid standard

THE argument for the almost-forgotten Atlantic Pact in the Senate last week had the hollow sound of a voice from the grave. For the Pact is a child of the tumultous and jittery year of 1948, with its uncertainty and fears. It does not fit into the picture of 1949. The economic crisis with its urgent demands has overshadowed it completely.

Great Britain, with her economy bleeding, today cares very little about the Pact. "This is a moment of supreme crisis," Minister of Fuel and Power Gaitskell told the miners in South Wales. "The position is far too serious for just depression." We in the U.S. have not yet agreed how to fight out of our own recession. France is in the throes of a permanent budget deficit.

MORNING AFTER: A massive rearmament under these conditions would be sheer lunacy; it has been already ruled out as economically absurd. As the solidly Republican **U. S. News** reports, Secretary Johnson may warn our military leaders that they will have to cut spending. To bring our budget into shape, **U. S. News** thinks, military expenses must be cut to some 3 to 5 billion dollars.

The main illusion of boisterous 1948 was that we can have recovery and rearmament at the same time. Now that it has been shattered to pieces, there is no conviction and no persuasiveness in the arguments for the Pact. Nobody knows exactly what its obligations and cost really are. Its promoters would like to affirm now that they are rather nominal. **But without massive rearmament the Pact will remain a scrap of paper.**

The Pact has no calculated strategic base whatsoever. Our own military policy has worked out no decision, yet the clash between Army and Air Force strategy remains in its old vigor. No settlement can be achieved about the strategic common program of the U. S. and the European allies, because of our own strategic indecision and the incurable military weakness of the allies.

SPEECHES WON'T DO IT. Senator Vandenberg spoke of our "instant and competent allies." A bigger self-deception can hardly be formulated. None of our European allies is militarily solvent, and with the only and qualified exception of Great Britain none is capable of any earnest military move. Yet Senator Vandenberg warned these allies not to rely on any Maginot Line and not to expect any U. S. troops in Europe. On what, then, should they rely?

The debate on the Pact has been overcharged with appalling military illusions. First we pinned our hopes on the all-powerful atomic bomb; then on the non-existent Rhine line of defense; then on the tactical aviation of support; then on the rather small but tightly-knit tank force for mobile counter-manoeuver. Today the weapons of land defense seem to have gained priority; the recoilless small caliber gun, the anti-magnetic land mine, the small rocket weapons.

With this last tactical hobby again an error is being committed. No single weapon or set of defense can withstand the combined effect of a modern offensive army of assault aviation, artillery of all kinds, mobile infantry and tanks.

Offering Europe military illusions, the Atlantic Pact diverts us from Europe's real and urgent needs. There can be no short cut in the defense of Western Europe — unless she be defended by peace.

Continued from preceding page

Senators weren't telling what their mail was like, but GUARDIAN had copies of letters and petitions opposing the Pact from groups of many political shades and of none.

Who's loyal?

ON HIS recent tour of Europe Paul Robeson declared publicly: "We have the firm resolve to fight for peace. . . . We shall support peace and friendship with Soviet Russia and the popular republics" of Eastern Europe.

To some in America this sounded like treason. Last week the House Committee on Un-American Activities was out to show, presumably, that American Negroes are not for peace. Its star witness to take issue with Robeson was to be Jackie Robinson, first Negro to make good in a bang-up way in big league baseball. At the last moment his appearance was postponed.

LOYAL TO WHOM? Mrs. Paul Robeson wrote in the N.Y. **Daily Compass:** "My loyalty is given to the laws of my country as set down in our beautiful constitution and bill of rights, to those communities which obey these laws, to my fellow-citizens, fellow-progressives and friends here in my country and all over the world who think, feel and work for the equality of man.

"Obviously it would be ridiculous for anyone to be loyal to that part of any country which persecutes him, or to those people who do him harm and wish him evil."

A proposal to subpena Robeson himself was being studied over the weekend.

might be bombed any minute."

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Gang's all here

FROM all parts of the country doctors, clergymen, editors and delegates representing hundreds of plain people were heading toward New York for the broadest convocation of Americans in defense of civil liberties since President Truman signed his Loyalty Order three years ago.

On the eve of the weekend Bill of Rights Conference in New York's Henry Hudson Hotel, President Truman singled out three of its distinguished sponsors for comment. Told by newsmen at his press conference that Henry Wallace, Paul Robeson and Clifford Durr, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, were calling the conference to demand an investigation of the FBI, the President said sharply that he had no comment on what that gang wants to do. "Did you say gang?" a reporter asked. Yes, the President replied: gang.

HARRY FOR HYSTERIA: Clark Foreman, executive director of the conference, cited the President's remark as another proof of the need for the conference. He added: "In singling out from the 640 sponsors a former Vice President of the U.S., a former Federal Communications Commissioner whom Truman offered to reappoint, and one of the great artists of our time, the President is again creating hysteria which he pretends to deprecate."

Both Attorney General Tom Clark and J. Edgar Hoover were formally invited to attend the conference. Neither acepted. Major paper to be read was "A People's Dossier on the FBI," by Durr, who while Chairman of the FCC denounced FBI reports as "baseless gossip." Other papers would deal with the Loyalty Order, thought control, repressive legislation and political censorship. From the South would come a detailed report of an on-the-spot investigation of recent Georgia violence against Negroes and whites active in progressive causes.

Greek refugee children carry a sick playmate to a Yugoslav camp. Thousands of children from Free Greece have been given asylum in Yugoslavia. Last week the border was closed.

Dynamic Detroit

DETROIT, which calls itself "the dynamic," was thrashing under its own red scare last week. Newspapers, with headlines and make-up suitable for proclaiming the end of the world, had the city overrun with fiendishly subversive characters about to poison the water supply, extinguish all public lights, and take over.

Said Donald J. Sublette, head of the Civil Service Commission: "For sabotage purposes, for disruption of production, for effective bacteriological warfare . . . local governments are far more important in the Communist 'take-over' planning than the Federal government."

TOY TOWN: The Mayor hastily appointed a three-man loyalty board headed by police commissioner and ex-Ford hatchet man Harry Toy. Toy promptly revived the old police red squad.

City Councilmen and the press began to plump for a charter amendment setting up a permanent loyalty board and requiring modern loyalty oaths from all city employees. The present charter specifically prohibits dismissal of employees for "political or religious reasons."

Behind the furore: the CIO United Public Workers are currently engaged in a drive for wage increases.

WITH DIGNITY: The Massachusetts Senate also was set last week to outlaw organizations deemed "subversive," specifically citing the Communist Party. Sen. John D. MacKay, a Republican, called on his colleagues "to retain our reputation for clear thinking. . . . No court of law has recorded a judgment that the Communist Party was guilty of advocating overthrow of the government by force and violence."

Struck by MacKay's novel approach, the senators removed all mention of the Communist Party from the measure before passing it.

Medina at school

JUDGE HAROLD R. MEDINA, presiding over the trial of the Communist leaders, last week seemed to glimpse a world he had never seen before.

City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, one of the defendants, was on the stand, trying to explain what his party stood for, particularly as regards the Negro. He told of the day 17 years ago when he defended young Angelo Herndon in a Georgia court.

Davis recalled that the Georgia judge had throughout the trial called him and the defendant "nigger."

GEOGRAPHY LESSON: Prosecutor John F. X. McGohey handed Davis the record of the Herndon trial and challenged him to find the insult there. Davis thundered: "I wouldn't believe the record of the judge in that case if he swore on a stack of Bibles as high as Stone Mountain."

The judge reminded Davis that this was a court record. Davis tried to point out the nature of Georgia courts but the judge, incredulous, shook his head and recessed the court for lunch while the witness was still speaking.

Davis completed his testimony and became the first defendant to step down from the stand without being sent to jail.

INS AND OUTS: Miss Fanny Hartman came next to the stand. She is a functionary of the party in New England.

In describing her life as a Communist she told of one day when she helped move the furniture into the house of a family that had been dispossessed.

Washington williwaw

Great oligopolies from little monoplies grow

By John B. Stone

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT feared monopoly. In 1936 he said: "A small group has concentrated into their own hands an almost complete control over other people's property, other people's money, other people's labor — other people's lives." Two years later he set up the Temporary National Economic Committee to make a study of the concentration of economic power in the U.S.

He warned then: "If there is danger it comes from that concentrated private economic power which is struggling so hard to master our democratic government."

The TNEC reports were a monument of the New Deal.

FATTER AND FATTER: That was 10 years ago. What has happened since? Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) has decided to find out. Recently he appointed himself chairman of a subcommittee to take up where TNEC left off in getting the facts on U.S. "oligopolies" ("an old Greek word," Celler says.)

"They have gotten fatter and more powerful since TNEC made its famous report," Celler said. "They are branching out into many fields to control whatever they can get their hands on. The corporations are bigger than the government itself."

The monopoly subcommittee does not exactly look like another TNEC. Its members are not given to radical action, except against labor and for the NAM. This is the line-up: Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), Joseph R. Bryson (D-S.C.), J. Frank Wilson (D-Tex.), Winfield K. Denton (D-Ind.), Kenneth R. Keating (R-N.Y.), William McCulloch (R-Ohio), and Earl C. Michener (R-Mich.). Michener has already tried to turn the investigation to a union-busting spree on the grounds that unions are monopolies.

ARE WE DIFFERENT? Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.), granddaddy trust-buster who was chairman of TNEC, is also alarmed: "We called in big business to win the war and to win the peace and big business has grown bigger." Continued growth of monopoly power will mean fascism or war, or both; "who controls industry controls war."

He adds this warning: "Remember, America has a proletariat too. Fifty-four per cent of our workers are employed by 0.8% of our employers. If they turn to a strong man as the Germans and the Italians did, in case of unemployment the next step will be simple."

O'Mahoney recommends that "every member of Congress should read the Ferguson report on decartelization in Germany as an object lesson. "Don't kid yourself that it can't happen here. It can." He points out that, while German cartels are supposed to have been broken up, German industrial might is left undisturbed in its prewar state of high concentration in the Ruhr.

GET IN AND PROD: Both Celler and O'Mahoney think the problem is much bigger than making over the anti-trust laws. "What is needed is a new conception as big as the problem," says the Wyoming Senator. He thinks maybe what is needed is a National Economic Congress where labor, management, agriculture and public will sit down and work out rules for keeping big business in line and individuals free.

But if anything is to be done, the people who are suffering from oligopolitis must speak up. Rep. Celler's subcommittee will need a lot of public prodding if it is to do anything except sound good on paper.

"You mean," asked Judge Medina, "the marshal was taking out furniture pursuant to a court order and you were putting it back?"

When the defendant said, "yes," the judge seemed stunned, as if he wondered that such things could be. His world broadened daily.

On Thursday Daniel Boone Schirmer, a direct descendant of the frontiersman, testified for the defendants. Said Defense Attorney Crockett: "Would the court please take judicial notice that Daniel Boone was an American?"

Dixie refugees

Convicts are entitled to decency and humanity while in prison, and if they are mistreated, they are entitled to continue their freedom after they escape. It is enough to state that leg irons and most frequent beatings were among the minor constant cruelties.—**From a U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals decision, May 18, 1949.**

DESPITE that clear ruling, four Negro fugitives from Southern chain gangs were battling in Northern courts last week to continue their freedom.

- In the Bronx James Wilson, 29, awaited a July 19 preliminary court hearing in extradition proceedings. In 1941 he had been sentenced to life on a South Carolina chain gang for shooting a man who molested his wife and threatened him. Early this year he escaped. In May he was arrested. On his back are marks of the lash; on his legs are deep scars from leg irons. Wilson spent seven years on the chain gang.

- In Philadelphia sharecrooper Fletcher Mills, 23, awaits an appeal from

an order by a Federal judge to return him to Alabama, where in 1945 he escaped a lynch mob after fighting off a knife attack by his white landlord.

- In Trenton, Julius V. Harper, 21, is depending upon a court-appointed lawyer to prevent his return to an Alabama prison farm which he fled in 1945. "Whenever the warden got drunk," Harper told a Federal judge, "somebody got a beating."

- In New York City Clarence Jackson, 35, awaited an appeal from a Supreme Court order that would send him back to the Ben Hill prison farm in Georgia from which he escaped a year ago while serving a 20-year sentence. He testified that while there his arm was broken by a guard, and he was blinded in one eye. Return, he said, would mean "almost certain death." But Supreme Court Justice E. L. Hammon listened to Georgia officials who said their prison camps had "good conditions," and found no evidence that Jackson would be subjected to "cruel or inhuman treatment" if he went back.

Feiner

- Irving Feiner, sentenced by a police justice to 30 days for disorderly conduct and expelled from Syracuse University for speaking in behalf of O. John Rogge on a Syracuse street corner last March, was due to argue his appeal on Wednesday, July 20 in a County Court. He is on $1,000 bail.

Cold War curriculum

NEA's campus red hunt meets varsity opposition

Special to the GUARDIAN

ACADEMIC freedom means not only the right of teachers to teach without fear, but the right of students to learn by full and fair consideration of whatever may contribute to learning.

Last week and the week before, academic freedom in the U.S. experienced severe ups and downs in the turbulent atmosphere of the cold war.

Most of the downs, few ups, emerged from the 87th annual convention of the National Education Association which opened in Boston, the cradle of American Liberty, on the Fourth of July.

LEGION IS WATCHING: On that day the Classroom Teachers department of 1,000 delegates resoundingly challenged the state-by-state trend toward "loyalty oaths" for teachers. The Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom found that teachers do not feel free to discuss social and political matters without fear of reprisal. Most teachers do not have job protection, only a minority of states provide civil service tenure for teachers.

But when the convention as a whole sat down together, with the teachers under the baleful eyes of their state and district superintendents, classroom superiors, principals, supervisors and the NEA hierarchy, their July 4 courage wilted away.

First they heard an American Legion spokesman warn them that the eyes of the nation were on them, watching how they might vote on the $64 question of the right of Communists to teach.

CAN REDS THINK? Then John K. Norton, chairman of the Educational Policies Commission, presented the commission's printed-and-bound report entitled "American Education and International Tensions." Covering 54 book-size pages, the report had nationwide advance publicity on a small portion of its content, a half-page clause declaring that "members of the Communist Party of the United States should not be employed as teachers."

This statement signed by Presidents James B. Conant of Harvard and Dwight D. Eisenhower of Columbia, as well as Norton and others, said Communists should be barred because "surrender of intelligence" accompanying Communist membership renders the individual "unfit to discharge the duties of a teacher in this country."

At the same time, the statement went on, "we condemn the careless use of such words as 'red' and 'communist' to attack teachers and other persons who in point of fact are not Communists, but who merely have views different from those of their accusers."

LABEL YOUR CRITICS: Only one person of the 1,000 who opposed the loyalty-oath trend a few days earlier ventured to stand up and point out the "surrender of intelligence" demanded by the Commission's own policy. She was Mrs. Rose Russell of the N.Y. City Teachers Union, CIO.

When Mrs. Russell ended a stop-watched five minutes, chairman Norton rose to remind the delegates that she represented an organization "generally considered to be communist-dominated." Mrs. Russell was quick to point out that this was an instance of the careless guilt-by-label tactic which the commission itself said it opposed. Delegates privately applauded, publicly kept silent.

Later, the convention moved for reconsideration of St. Louis as the site of the 1950 NEA Convention; it was pointed out that Negro delegates could not enjoy unsegregated living there. Early this year, Prof. Allison Davis of the University of Chicago was forced to fly in and out of St. Louis to speak before the Assn. of School Administrators because the meeting could not obtain unsegregated accommodations or eating facilities for him.

After the convention the NEA executive board disregarded the convention recommendation, went right ahead to set St. Louis for the next convention.

PROFESSORS: BOO! On the "up" side was the convention's decision to delay approval of the whole Conant-Eisenhower report. Delegates said they had not had time to study it. Actually the report as a whole is a blueprint for teaching children to accept the cold-war as the ruling atmosphere of their lives (much as German educators moulded the lives of German youth to conform with Nazi requirements, as exposed by Erika Mann in her analysis of those years, **School for Barbarians**). Conant will nevertheless argue for it five afternoons this week on CBS radio network.

The NEA's red hunt got opposition from an unexpected quarter when the Association of University Professors' committee on academic freedom and tenure, meeting in Washington, reaffirmed its conviction that membership in the Communist Party is not in itself sufficient cause for dismissing teachers.

Furthermore, the AAUP committee "censured" Evansville (Ind.) College for dismissing Prof. George F. Parker two days after he chaired a Wallace for President meeting last fall. Censure is the AAUP's harshest rebuke, leveled against few institutions in the Association's history.

Commenting on the Parker case, the committee noted that the college had dismissed him for "political activities both on and off the campus." Affidavits from a handful of students, collected after Parker's dismissal, were used to back up the on-the-campus part of the charge. These affidavits were distinguished by one in particular, which started out this way:

"I write this letter of my own free will and at the request of the college administration. . . ."

LABOR WEEK

Cold steel

PHILIP MURRAY, president of the United Steel Workers (CIO), had struggled for some way out other than a walkout. He was gloomy on Friday as U.S. Steel ordered that its blast furnaces be banked. A steel strike at midnight seemed inevitable.

Negotiations between union and Big Steel had broken down ten days before. President Truman suggested that both sides appear before a special fact-finding committee empowered to make recommendations for a settlement.

Murray quickly agreed to appear before the board and hold off all action for 60 days. U.S. Steel said the Taft-Hartley Act provided that in case of national emergency a board be set up that would find facts but make no recommendations.

COLD GRIN: The President said there was no national emergency. He did not feel bound by the Taft-Hartley Act and could set up any kind of board he chose.

On Friday he reaffirmed that decision. Big Steel never felt better braced for a strike. Orders were declining anyway. A strike would embarrass the President who does not like to be caricatured as wielding the Taft-Hartley Act. It would embarrass Murray too, who believes in cooperation between industry and labor. Big Steel grinned as the fires went out.

Scary Hawaii

IN the morning 106 pickets were arrested in Honolulu's 70-odd-day-old strike of Longshoremen; it was the first rough move of its kind since the strike started. The charge was a misdemeanor but bail was set at $100 each. The union protested, but posted $10,800 in cash, whereupon bail was cut to $25 each. Strikers were angry.

In the afternoon longshoremen's leader Harry Bridges received a terse wire, ending with a three-word sentence that caused apprehension in many places: "Alert the coast."

That was the joker that had worried Hawaiian employers from the start: would West Coast members of Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union walk out in support of their island brothers? Employers weren't sure how far they could go without provoking something bigger than they could handle.

ON THEIR OWN: Congress was scary, too. Island big-shots had trekked to Washington for Federal intervention. Deeming the issue a "hot potato," U.S. politicians sent the islanders home to work out their own solution.

Upon his return Gov. Stainback ordered a special session of the Territorial Legislature to seek a law permitting seizure of docks and piers. The Matson Navigation Co., which runs luxury cruises to the islands, filed

Continued on following page

Lilliput, London

Continued from preceding page

suit against the union for $1,500,000 damages plus $20,000 for every day the union persisted in "illegal acts."

Earlier, island employers had received an unexpected boost from the mainland. The Greater CIO Council of Los Angeles, torn with right- and left-wing divisions, voted not to back the defense of Harry Bridges and two other union leaders indicted on perjury charges in securing citizenship in 1945.

Outstretched hand

IN the Pallazo Dell'Arte in Milan the 10-day session of the Second Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions drew to a close. The 224 delegates started home to report to the 71,608,000 workers they represent.

Absent from the WFTU Congress were any British or American unionists. The General Secretary of the British Electrical Workers Union turned up the first day but withdrew at the order of British trade union officials. Three CIO affiliates sent telegrams of greeting: United Office and Professional Workers, International Fur and Leather Workers and the Food and Tobacco Workers.

VISA TROUBLE: Also absent were 27 delegates from the All-China Federation of Labor, who were refused Italian visas to attend the Congress. Chinese delegates who wanted to attend an international textile conference in Lyons were similarly refused visas by the French. The delegates charged the U.S. ordered the visas refused.

The Congress heard many delegates call for unity and conciliation with the trade union groups which had seceded. Under British and American leadership the secessionists recently voted in Geneva to form an Anti-Communist Federation of Trade Unions. Louis Saillant, executive secretary of

WFTU, pointed out that the only "compromise" offered by the secessionists was dissolution of WFTU. He insisted that "several tendencies can co-exist" and seconded the move to ask the secessionists to return.

WFTU insisted that the UN Social and Economic Council discuss unemployment at its next meeting, and submitted a memo on the subject.

WFTU will meet again in November in Peiping.

Labor briefs

● Five months ago, 5,000 French-Canadian miners employed by the American Johns-Manville Co. struck in Asbestos, Quebec, where 80% of the world's asbestos is mined. They wanted a 15-cent-an-hour increase, protection against silicosis, other demands. A month ago an army of scabs was brought in; strikers held them off with roadblocks. Cops launched a pitched battle, raided strikers' homes, invaded a church, beat and arrested many. Last week the strike was won—the 5,000 got: a 10-cent retroactive boost, with the remaining five cents to be arbitrated; health safeguards; reinstatement without discrimination; all court charges dropped.

● One out of every 13 persons in Elizabeth, N. J., was idle as the result of the strike at the Singer Manufacturing Co., now in its 11th week. Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll and Mayor James P. Kirk sparked mediation efforts last wek. The United Electrical and Radio Workers (CIO) called the strike to fight a speedup that had already maimed some workers and displaced others from their jobs.

THE WORLD

BRITAIN

Dockland test

THERE are 640 members in the House of Commons.

That statistic went unrecognized last week in the U. S. press—not for the first time during Cold War I. It made a difference. London dispatches consistently reported that the Commons voted 412 to 4 in favor of the emergency decrees by which full martial law was to rule the London docks.

The fact was that over 200 members of parliament pointedly abstained. It amounted to a demonstration.

More than 3,000 longshoremen who had worked the docks despite the strike heard of the decrees and promptly downed tools. That made a total of 13,000 on strike, 127 ships lying idle at the wharves.

Coldstream Guards in uniform worked at the slings and cranes.

DOCKLAND DATELINE: GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer cabled from London:

"Since the government has taken emergency powers to deal with the dock strike the situation has become increasingly serious. Meat porters now threaten to refuse to handle meat unloaded by troops. Tugmen, too, are refusing to service the wharves.

"The Labor government, relying for strength on the organized workers of Britain, is engaged in all-out battle with an important section of labor. It is important to realize that all that is at issue is unloading two 'blackleg' (scab) Canadian ships.

The antique herring

"It probably would have been possible to secure an agreement for volunteers to unload the ships, provided the right of the men to refuse to touch black cargoes had gone unquestioned. Instead, the Dock Labor Board, sponsored by the government, and the dock union leadership of Arthur Deakin have deliberately sought a showdown with the longshoremen. They handed down an ultimatum: 'No ships will be unloaded unless you agree to work the Canadian ships'."

LOCKED OUT: "The men regard the affair as a lockout. Longshoremen on other docks, who couldn't unload the Canadian ships anyway, were not given ships to work. They are bitter. Even in the deadlock a conciliatory note in government handling might have tided over an ugly situation. But Attorney General Sir Hartley Shawcross at the weekend delivered only a rigmarole of threats and anti-communist hysteria. I've been talking to the dockers. Not half of one percent of them are Communists. Most unofficial leaders are not Communists. Probably 90% voted and will vote Labor.

"They are furious at the suggestion that they're dupes or agitators and they are obstinately holding firm."

SOLIDARITY FOREVER: "Although the facts of the Canadian strike have been deliberately suppressed by the newspapers here, dockland is convinced that the Canadian seamen struck because the employers attacked their wages and working conditions and brought in a blackleg union. The men say any British union would have refused such terms and they add that the dockers have never yet broken the principle of international solidarity.

Daily Worker, London

"Disgraceful the way these strikers hold the nation up to ransom!"

"It's difficult to avoid the conclusion that the government wanted an excuse for a showdown. They want to convince the public that any sign of militancy by the unions is part of a world communist plot.

"Doubtless a solution will be found, because the strike can't go on. But

Continued on following page

Far East dilemma

Pacific Pact unlikely; too late for ERPicide

By Kumar Goshal

CHINA'S forlorn dictator Chiang Kai-shek emerged briefly from obscurity last week when, surrounded by "a number of top banking and financial experts," he conferred at Baguio, P. I., with Philippine President Elpidio Quirino on "a union of Pacific countries against communism." U. S. participation in the union was reported "a prime objective."

Quirino surprised no one by calling the meeting. His government, which came to power largely through U. S. support in an election **Business Week** called "a political farce," has been a spectacular failure. It let the U. S. maintain military bases and shoved through a trade law giving special privileges to U. S. capital. It did nothing to modernize the economy or the feudal land-tenure system, and has fought ruthlessly and unsuccessfully the popular Hukbalahap forces who, from the Japanese occupation until now, have led the fight against foreign domination of the Philippines.

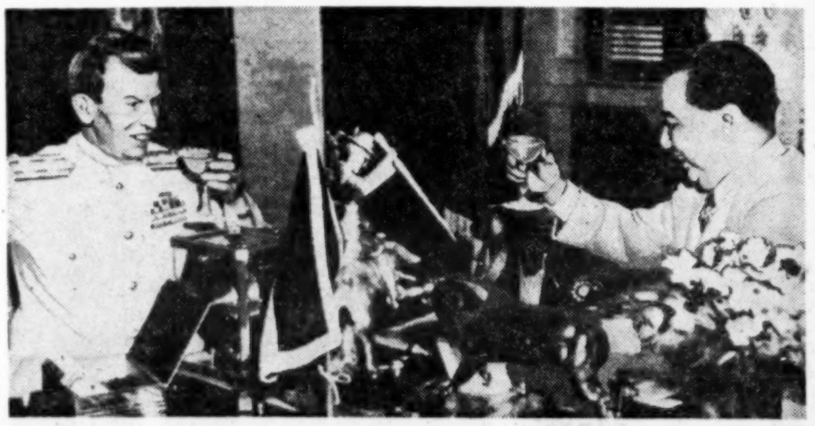
THREE BAD SMELLS: Quirino is planning a trip to the U. S. soon. Of course he dismisses the Hukbalahap movement as "communist," but he has more to worry about than that. In November he faces an election which promises to be a lulu: his opponents are Sen. Avelino, recently censured by the government itself for some bad-smelling deals while in office, and Dr. Jose P. Laurel, who was president under the Japanese.

He cannot afford to return from the U. S. empty-handed. The invitation to Chiang is a desperate effort to organize a Pacific anti-red union to strengthen his hand for bargaining in Washington.

As for Chiang, there are rumors that he would like to transfer himself and/or some of the Kuomintang loot to the Philippines.

PALM-GIRT TIGHTROPES: But the elements out of which the Pacific Union must be forged are dim in the extreme. India's Nehru is cautious. The very existence of an Indonesian government remains problematic. The Siamese government is walking a political tightrope. There will be popular opposition in New Zealand. Australia takes a poor view of expanding U.S. influence in the Pacific.

Only support so far comes from South Korea's Syngman Rhee, whose 100,000 soldiers have already become highly unpopular. If the U. S. took some initiative the prospects might brighten, but even Sec. of State Acheson seems cautious toward the idea. American support of Chiang,



Shown above trading toasts with U. S. Vice-Admiral Oscar C. Badger, Philippine Pres. Quirino last week entertained Chiang Kai-Shek and old China's problems.

and economic deals with western imperialists at the expense of the colonial peoples, have reduced U. S. popularity in Asia to zero. Further U. S. interference would explode the whole region.

In the Philippines, even all-out U. S. military support against the Huks would merely create another Greece, with similar results. An American expeditionary force to China big enough to do Chiang any good is out of the question. The problem for a Pacific "Marshall Plan" is different from the problem in Western Europe, and the hole in the Far Eastern economy is much deeper. Besides, much of the success of the European Marshall Plan hangs on continued Western exploitation of the colonies.

SORRY, TOO MUCH: Rich and powerful as the U. S. is, it still is not rich and powerful enough—as Mao Tse-tung once pointed out — to shoulder successfully the support and maintenance in power of all the reactionary, feudalistic and imperialist governments in the world.

Of any mutual economic and military aid among members of a Pacific union against the rising tide of popular discontent, it is fantastic even to dream. None is strong enough to cope with its own internal problems. All are directly or indirectly trying to coax Uncle Sam for economic or military assistance or both.

The choice for U. S. taxpayers is between a melancholy and disastrous encore of Greece and China if the Pacific union gets U. S. support, and a stillborn union if it doesn't. The choice should not be hard to make.

Continued from preceding page
the affair will seriously damage the government's prestige with the rank and file. It could win through this crisis if it called for mass support and demanded sacrifices from the workers rather than submit to attacks on the undisputed social achievements of the last four years. But the Labor government can only lose if it spends its energies fighting the workers. Perhaps that's why Shawcross at the week-end said he would support the Tory government if the electorate returned one."

MONEY

Dollar conundrum

"WORLD worry No. 1 is dollars, not Russia," the conservative U.S. News conceded last week. All Marshall Plan capitals were worrying, but none more so than London. Diplomats from the Commonwealth nations gathered there on Wednesday to worry together.

For 100 years Britain has bought more than it sold, balancing its accounts by income from foreign investments and shipping. The war liquidated most investments and much of the shipping. Britain had to sell more, to get the dollars to pay for necessities of life.

BRIDGE THAT GAP: Exporters, hailed as heroes by the government, tried to sell the U.S. everything from baby Austins to plaques of Stratford-on-Avon. They were making progress until the slump hit the U.S., but even at its best the "dollar gap" seemed impossible to bridge.

So it goes in all the Marshall Plan countries. Each has its four or five-year plan based on selling more and more to the U.S. But the U.S., buying less and less as the depression deepens, itself seeks new markets for an uncomfortable abundance which too few U.S. citizens can afford to buy.

Tvorba, Prague

The Marshall Plan cuts beneficiaries from natural markets in East Europe and prevents them from re-equipping their industries so that they can seriously compete with U.S. industry. Under the Plan the dollar crisis is incurable, dependence upon the U.S. permanent and complete.

POOR BANKER: Britain is the "banker" for a group of countries that hold their reserves not in gold but in sterling. Britain is supposed to convert sterling into other currencies when needed. The required reserve for that kind of banking is $2,000,000,000. British reserves have sunk to $1,600,000,000. U.S. business would profit by breaking up that sterling bloc, so expanding its own overseas markets.

The U.S. proposes that all Marshall Plan countries cheapen their currencies in terms of dollars. That way they could lower prices of exports to the U.S. and probably sell more. But it would increase the price of their imports, and raise the cost of living.

On the other hand U.S. investors could buy up West European industry at bargain prices. The Swedes, the Danes and others whose market in the U.S. keeps dwindling still hold their currencies up, but they watch what Britain will do with the pound. If Britain devalues, other nations may do likewise. So far the British pound has stood firm against U.S. pressure to devalue.

Each sister nation of the Commonwealth tried to decide last week between the lure of dollars and the motherland. Britons wondered whether the U.S. could buy the Empire.

FOOD

Too little & too much

FOR at least three years the plain citizen of the U.S. had been worrying about money, too. And as he worried, he found he could eat a little less. The housewife's budget decisions showed up in government statistics.

In 1945 the average American ate 144.7 pounds of fresh fruit. In 1948 he ate 133.8 pounds. In 1947 he ate 155 pounds of meat. In 1948 he ate 146.4 pounds.

So it went all down the menu. Government statisticians said brightly that people were still eating 10% more than they were in 1935-1939, but those who

remembered the lean years drew small comfort.

And because the average American, thinking of where to put his money first, decided to eat a little less:

- At the Liberal Army Airbase in Liberal, Kansas, a 200-foot hangar was cleared to store 500,000 bushels of surplus wheat.
- A Liberty ship that had been left to rot as part of the moth-ball fleet in the upper Hudson was scrubbed and moved down to Weehawken, N.J. to hold more grain.
- In Washington diplomats of the International Wheat Council conferred on ways and means to carry out the wheat agreement signed last March. The agreement was something less than worldwide. One large-scale wheat exporter, Argentina, declined to come in on the deal. Another one, the U.S.S.R., offered to come in but was kept out.

In spite of all, the U.S. had succeeded in lining up the biggest market for wheat it ever had overseas. But still midwestern farms were lined up with laden trucks at the granaries, wondering if there would be space for their "surplus," fearful lest they be forced to dump it on the ground.

LUCKY DROUGHT: Where abundance is embarrassing, disaster is a relief. The drought in north-east U.S., though publicly deplored, served a purpose. Still more to the point was the drought that parched all Europe. That, too, increased the market.

Still, the granaries bulged, and for the first time in seven years the Secretary of Agriculture limited the acreage allotted for wheat "in line with diminishing demand." If it had not been for the drought 33% of the wheat crop would have gone unsold.

It would be simpler, many thought, if Americans could afford to eat more.

YUGOSLAVIA

Ugly accusations

THIS is the third year of the Greek civil war and the beginning of the second year of the Tito-Cominform fight. During most of the Greek war

After interviewing Indonesian president Achmed Soekarno (left) on a flying junket staged by a press agent for the Dutch government, 13 U. S. newsmen and the press agent, with 31 others, were killed when their plane crashed into a hill near Bombay. Surrounding Soekarno above are, left to right: William Newton, Scripps-Howard; George Moorad, Portland Oregonian; S. Burton Heath, NEA; John Werkley, Time; H. R. Knickerbocker, WOR. Other correspondents killed were: Nat Barrows, Chi. Daily News; Charles Gratke, Christian Science Monitor; Thomas A. Falco, Business Week; Elsie Dick, WOR-Mutual; Bertram D. Hulen, N. Y. Times; Vincent Mahoney, S. F. Chronicle; Fred Colvig, Denver Post; James Branyan, Houston Post; Lynn Mahan, Theo. Swanson & Co., public relations. In the U. S. A., 34 died when a non-scheduled airliner hit a California peak, after reporting two men passengers fighting as the plane let down for a landing.

Yugoslavia, jointly with Albania and Bulgaria, has been accused of helping the "rebels," of taking in thousands of refugee children and hospitalizing wounded.

But recently ugly charges and counter-charges have been hurled between Yugoslavia on the one side and Free Greece, the U.S.S.R., and the Cominform on the other.

The Free Greece radio accused Yugoslavia of aiding the Athens army by permitting it to cross into Yugoslavia to attack the Liberation forces.

EXCHANGE OF SHOTS: At Pula, July 10, Tito vigorously denied this. He said "certain men in Democratic Greece" were slandering Yugoslavia so as to put the blame for defeat, if it should occur, on Yugoslavia. At the same time he announced that he was closing the

Greek frontier and that Yugoslavia was seeking a loan from the West but would make no political concessions to get it.

The Free Greeks then charged that Tito was preparing to ally himself with the Athens Government. Dispatches from Europe have hinted at such an alliance for some time. No evidence to support this charge has been produced.

The Free Greeks interpreted a Yugoslav letter to UN Secretary General Trygve Lie as evidence. But Yugoslav sources pointed out that their statement differed little from similar statements submitted by Bulgaria and Albania.

U. S. DOGFIGHT, TOO: Yugoslav leader Milovan Djilas next charged that the Soviet offer last April to help settle the Greek war was a part of a Soviet deal to sell out Free Greece. The Soviets pointed out that their proposals dovetailed exactly with those of the Free Greek Government and were made with its consent. In Belgrade, opening of the first feature film (Yugoslav-made) on the Greek liberation struggle was announced.

Meanwhile, Tito got involved in another dogfight with the U.S. over Trieste, where in his zone he recently introduced Yugoslav dinars as legal curency. The U.S. objected to Tito's introduction of another currency there as impractical. The State Department used the same arguments the U.S.S.R. used in Berlin when it objected to introduction of Western currency.

RELIGION

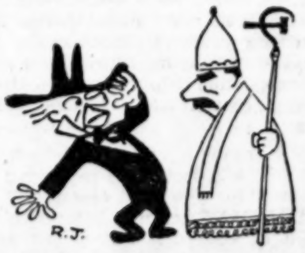
Choose your devil

THE Notary of the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office in Vatican City last week told the world that until further notice no Roman Catholic could be married, receive absolution of his sins or be given the last rites on his death bed if he so much as read the **Daily Worker**, for reasons other than strictly business.

Vatican authorities pointed out that some Catholics had wondered whether they could not support even the measures of Communist governments giving them greater security and more land. The stern decree forbade such peace, however comfortable, with the devil.

GEORGIA VS. ROME: The blast came only a few weeks after the French Communist editor Marcel Cachin, writing in **L'Humanite**, offered yet again the outstretched hand of his party to all Catholics.

It came a month after Rep. Eugene Cox (D-Ga.) rose in the House and solemnly accused the Pope of following the party line. The Pope had said: "Capitalism is atheistic in its structure; gold is its God."



Cox said: "If this statement represents the views of the Pope, then millions of kind-hearted and right-intentioned people have been brought down to the quicksands of Marxism."

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New government books

AMONG recent publications by the U. S. government, GUARDIAN picked out these titles as the most universally interesting. Send your order to Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

HOUSE CLEANING PACKAGE (catalog No. HC-49). Nine handy pamphlets full of ideas for making house care less of a chore. Including Washing, Cleaning and Polishing Materials, Carpet and Rug Repair, Home Laundering, Stain Removal from Fabrics, DDT For Control of Household Pests and Care and Repair of the House. $1.

A FRUIT AND VEGETABLE BUYING GUIDE FOR CONSUMERS (catalog No. A 1.38:167) points out factors of quality and variety that should help the housewife get the best possible value for every dollar. 61 pp. 15c.

MEAT FOR THRIFTY MEALS (catalog No. A 1.9:1908) gives suggestions for selecting and cooking cheaper cuts of meat. Added

are recipes for salads, sauces, soups, chowders, gravies and hot or cold sandwiches. 46 pp. with illustrations. 10c.

ABC's OF MENDING (catalog No. A 1.9:1925). Do you know how to mend a three-cornered tear? This book tells, as well as how to patch, darn and in general keep clothes looking like new. 23 pp. with illustrations. 10c.

HOME LOANS UNDER THE GI BILL OF RIGHTS (catalog No. NHA 1.2:H 75/3/947). All the information for vet home-buyers: how much to borrow and where, tables of payments, check lists and other facts. 12 pp. with charts. 5c.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Effective sunburn preventive

ONE of the most successful and least expensive sunburn preventatives is a solution you have a druggist make up for you. It consists of a saturated solution (about 10%) of para-amino-benzoic acid in ethyl rubbing alcohol of 70% strength. Since the formula is comparatively new, you may have to try several pharmacies before you'll find one that will make it up, since some pharmacies insist they can sell para-amino-benzoic acid only on prescription.

Tips on luggage

THIS is the month of luggage sales, and for the first time in several years weekend cases are available for as little as $5. If you need vacation luggage, canvas cases are considered by trade experts to be as durable as leather, and much less expensive.

Be sure any case you buy has an all-wood box (some have cardboard at top and bottom.) Some of the more expensive cases are bound horizontally. This style is more fashionable than the more traditional vertical binding, but no sturdier. Padding and tapes are also luxury details which add to the price tag but not the usefulness.

To make sure cases are well-made, look for closely, neatly stitched binding, closely-woven canvas, and riveted (not nailed) hardware.

Watch those trade-ins

BUSINESS men do many things these days to give the illusion of cutting prices without really cutting them. One trick is exaggerated trade-in allowances. Some stores advertise sizable allowances, but when you get these, you find the offer is only for very recent models, which no one is trying to trade in anyway.

Now comes a vacuum cleaner manufacturer with an offer of a chest with a fictitious price tag of $25. The stores will give you this chest for your old cleaner if you buy a new one. Let's hope no GUARDIAN readers bite; the chest costs the dealers exactly $5, and of course is not worth as much as your old cleaner.

Radio report

Now they can bark—see they don't bite

By John Norton

ALMOST a decade ago radio station WAAB in Boston heavily backed one candidate in an election. As a result the FCC issued its "Mayflower Decision," which said in effect that stations could not take sides. Over the years this was interpreted to mean that broadcasters must be impartial, that air time should be given equally to all opinions.

Broadcasters felt that if newspapers had the right to argue and air their owners' opinions, so should they. They rile at the government's doctrine (still in force) that the ether belongs to the people and that stations must operate in "the public interest, convenience and necessity."

ON YOUR HONOR, BOYS: Early last month the FCC gave radio the right to editorialize. The new FCC policy says discussion of public issues will be stimulated by editorial broadcasts.

Stations' and networks' viewpoints may be expressed provided they are "just one part of several types of presentation of public issues . . . in the station's total schedule."

FCC adds: "What is against the public interest is for the licensee 'to stack the cards' by a deliberate selection of spokesmen . . . to favor one viewpoint at the expense of the other."

In a dissenting opinion one FCC commissioner, Frieda Hennock, said: "The standard of fairness as delineated in the report is virtually impossible of enforcement."

YOU'RE THE POLICE: Miss Hennock correctly said it is foolish to permit editorialization and expect the broadcasters to be fair. Radio magnates, having been given the right to air their views, now want to shout their opinions and drown out all other voices. **Broadcasting** magazine commented: "The right [to editorialize] is there. To that extent it is a victory for radio—the first skirmish in a war that must establish radio's right to be wrong or unfair."

Miss Hennock said the FCC doesn't have the police forces to report on stations that are unfair. That is true because listeners are not policing the airwaves, which they own and which the broadcasters only borrow.

FCC's new policy will result in a tug-of-war. Unless listeners pull the stations toward fairness, the stations will use their power to drag air opinion into the camp of reaction. But listeners can and must do three things when they hear an angled "editorial" broadcast or newscast: (1) write to FCC, Washington; (2) tell the station FCC has been informed: (3) demand, through progressive organizations, time to answer the biased program.

Listen to these

HERE are highlights of national network broadcasts that will be of interest to GUARDIAN readers:

IDEAS: "Man and Society" is the keynote of the current 12-week series on **Invitation to Learning** (CBS, Sunday, 12 noon to 12:30 EDT). Taking up problems of human adjustment to the social and cultural order, the programs originate from various points around the country to permit the widest possible discussions on the books under consideration. Some of the books featured for discussion are **Babbitt** by Sinclair Lewis (July 24), **R. U. R.** by Karel Capek (July 31), **Mind of Primitive Man** by Franz Boas (Aug. 14), **Brave New World** by Aldous Huxley (Aug. 28) and **The Admirable Crichton** by James Barrie (Sept. 25).

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FARMING: News of the nation's farming is presented on a new CBS program and reported by Gunnar Back. The program (Saturday, 2:30-2:45 EDT) features special reports and interviews with government officials, latest developments in Washington headquarters of national farm organizations, and pickups from key agricultural points around the country where there are new developments.

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UNEMPLOYMENT: United Electrical Workers commentator Arthur Gaeth (ABC, Monday 10-10:15 p.m. EDT) is currently reporting what he has found on his 4-month nationwide survey of unemployment. He is talking with industrialists, union leaders and government officials on current and future employment conditions in various areas of the country. All these interviews are recorded and aired on his weekly programs.

Too bad about 'The Iron curtain'—it's curtains

By Stanley Karnow

PARIS

AFTER three uproarious weeks during which 300 people were arrested for picketing and demonstrations, 20th Century-Fox's **The Iron Curtain** was retired last week to a warehouse shelf. Calm reigns on the boulevards.

Having lifted slabs of music by Shostakovich, Prokofiev and Khachaturian to accompany their extravaganza, Fox-Europa under quaint French copyright laws had to get the Soviet composers' permission to play it. In anticipation of their refusal, the film's distributors took it out of circulation before a Paris court issued a seizure order. At the same time they issued a formal protest and threatened to sue the French government, presumably for un-Americanism.

CHEERS FOR MOTHER: Resistance veterans and former deportees to Germany, who had condemned the film as one "Vichyites, collaborators and enemies of France would have applauded during the occupation," celebrated the victory. But with the film's departure, cafe society will be deprived of the flood of aperitif-time stories that have been coming out of the theater where it was playing, such as this incident reported in **Action**.

It seems that after the expulsion from the theater of a young woman who shouted that she had been a prisoner at Ravensbruck and would have died without the Russian army, a young man was arrested for applauding a scene in which a woman announces to her husband that she is expecting a child. The young man explained that he was a partisan of repopulation, and he was only doing what he considered his duty in applauding this instance of fecundity.

Two Rumanian "refugees" in the audience were less good-natured. They insisted that the police arrest the young man for causing a disturbance, and when he said that he considered the film to be Nazi-inspired, one of the Rumanians replied: "Don't say anything bad about the Nazis. I know them well. I fought at their side at Odessa."

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COSTLY STERILITY: The fate of **The Iron Curtain** has Hollywood producers with other anti-red epics worried. Banned in places as far apart as Paris and West Punjab, it has drawn scanty audiences in other countries. According to a Hollywood report, 20th Century-Fox estimates it will lose $400,000 on **The Iron Curtain**.

Hollywood sterility is costing it money on another front, too. A chain of over 50 British movie houses controlled by showman Sidney L. Bernstein has decided to stop showing newsreels. In the words of a spokesman for the chain: ". . . The newsreels available are of poor quality and lack a sense of journalistic selectivity and showmanship. We find that they invariably bore our audiences."

Drawing by Walter Iler

A college president salutes Goethe

Humanity is good

By Egon Pohoryles

WHILE authorities of the nation's school system jammed through a blueprint for permanent cold-war education at the Natl. Education Assn. convention in Boston (see p. 7), international scholars were observing at Aspen, Colo., the bicentennial of Germany's illustrious gift to world letters, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

Others came to Aspen beside scholars: bankers, businessmen and executives. The scholars had no reason for surprise. Except perhaps in his younger days, Goethe was by no means a radical. He was very much the product of his own middle-class environment, very proud of his intimacy with the local, provincial aristocracy. Those attending his bicentennial were no more radical.

But the closing speech made by Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor of Chicago University which was recently "investigated" by a witch-hunting committee, showed that American educators do not have to be radical to refuse to yield to fear. Chancellor Hutchins would probably even shy away from the label "progressive." Like Sarah Lawrence's President Harold Taylor and Yale's Seymour, Hutchins is getting tired of witch-hunts which spread hysteria over the campus. Unlike Taylor and Seymour, he also had a few things to say about the cold war.

HUTCHINS denounced the political, religious, economic and social groups which have been "putting the pressure on us to abandon thought, to cut ourselves off from those who belong to other groups, and to conform without question to a line laid down we do not know where, we do not know by whom, but which is said to be the ideology we must accept, in conflict with other ideologies." Under the circumstances it was not surprising that there was "cynicism, apathy and triviality" in modern man.

The speech was a sequel to one Hutchins made at Chicago University's 237th convocation, when he condemned "those who talk loudest about the dangers to the American Way of Life," and "have no idea what it is and consequently no idea what the dangers are that it is in."

At the time he had asked: "And what would the FBI say of Thomas Jefferson, who calmly remarked in his First Inaugural: 'If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union, or change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed, as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.'?"

TURNING to the cold war, Hutchins demanded the establishment of a world union of "men of good will."

Pointing out that communication had been the theme of Goethe's life, Hutchins confirmed his belief that communication with Russia was possible if other nations were sincerely willing to try.

"The business of fashioning devils as an excuse for failure to pursue and attain the unity of mankind has not been particularly productive in the past. When one devil has been eliminated, another has arisen to take its place. Now we are told that a new day will dawn if only we can get rid of those dreadful men in the Kremlin; if we go to war with Russia we shall win it, and then find ourselves confronting the awakening hordes of Asia, out of some of whom, because destructive acts are always easier and pleasanter than constructive ones, we shall doubtless fashion a new devil as an excuse."

Goethe's principle was the common bond of faith in goodness and in humanity. "We must refuse," said Dr. Hutchins, "to be drawn into the morass of cynicism and despair." The only factor which would turn the world from its downward path was a "moral, intellectual and spiritual revolution."

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Chicago Dateline

25 years for 'rape' that never happened

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

JAMES MONTGOMERY was 28 years old in 1923. A Negro, he lived in Jack Benny's home town, Waukegan, Illinois, at a time when the Ku Klux Klan was riding high in Lake County.

Young Montgomery believed in the rights of Negroes, and said so—publicly.

On November 11 of that year, he was seized on a charge of raping a 62-year-old unmarried white woman. When the case came to trial early in 1924 in circuit court, he had 15 witnesses to prove he had been far away from the scene of the attack. They were not allowed to testify.

The state's attorney, A. V. Smith, and the sheriff's police chief, Tom Kennedy, were known Klansmen (both are now dead).

Twenty minutes after the trial began, Montgomery was on his way to Stateville Penitentiary in Joliet—for life.

MAMIE SNOW'S FACE: In the 25 years since then, he has written more than 100 letters to various state authorities. Prison officials refused to let him mail any. His six appeals for pardon, commutation or parole were rejected.

When Chicago Attorney Luis Kutner visited Stateville some weeks ago, several prisoners told him about Montgomery. After an interview with Montgomery, Kutner was convinced he had been framed.

The attorney petitioned Judge Michael Igoe for a writ of habeas corpus.

When the case came up last week, Roy F. Thiesse, assistant Illinois Attorney General, was on hand to oppose the plea for a writ.

Kutner produced a hospital chart signed by the examining physician, Dr. John E. Walker, when he treated Miss Mamie Snow, the alleged rape victim, on Nov. 11, 1923. The chart, suppressed for 25 years, showed that Mamie Snow had not been raped at all. She had merely suffered facial injuries.

"And now," said Kutner, "even with clear proof that no rape was ever committed, the Illinois Attorney General's office is fighting tooth-and-nail to keep Montgomery in jail." Judge Igoe promised to hand down his decision August 10.

Prolonged-study ace

The Chicago Housing Authority recently completed a survey showing need for 270,000 new housing units in the Chicago area. For families now doubled up—95,000. For families in blighted areas—144,000. For a minimum 3.5 vacancy reserve—33,000.

CHA says: "Practically no new housing in Chicago is built to sell at less than $8,000, and only about six out of every 100 new houses at less than $10,000. At these prices, families earning less than $3,000, paying even 2½ times their annual income, just cannot purchase houses today." Chicago's share of new federal public housing funds should be $300,000,000 — enough to build 40,000 homes.

Taylor last week asked Mayor Martin H. Kennelly for immediate authority to seek $720,000 as an advance loan from the Public Housing Administration in Washington, to plan and project design for a low-rent housing program. Kennelly handed the request over to the City Council without comment. Alderman William J. Lancaster (37th Ward) and John J. Duffy (19th) objected to approving the request "without time for study of the data."

The Chicago Sun-Times commented: "Lancaster is an old and experienced hand at prolonged study. He can study a housing plan to which he is unsympathetic so long and so exhaustively that nothing comes of it.... If the City Council dawdles too long, other communities will snap up the funds."

For Guardian angels—life begins at Vol. I, No. 40

West Coast wire

"You can't be neutral"—Gov. Hastie to NAACP

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

TWO thousand angry delegates to the 40th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People met in Los Angeles last week, to assess their political status under the Truman administration.

Some of the proposed resolutions indicated fireworks. One censured Truman and demanded a special civil rights summer session of Congress. Another censured the NAACP directors for endorsing the Marshall Plan without "consultation."

HASTIE SPEAKS OUT: Most important speech of the session was made on Tuesday by William H. Hastie, Negro Governor of the Virgin Islands, who lambasted public officials failing to fight race discrimination. Radical groups now being tried for "disloyalty" are, Hastie said, far less dangerous to security than such officials.

"The obligation of public officials," he said, "is anything that promotes the equality of all the people." Anything less than that was equivalent to "an avowed reactionary position." No excuses could be made on the ground of loyalty to a party platform or lack of one. Officials were called upon to see that the laws of the land were carried out.

Hastie pilloried the FBI for branding inter-racial organizations as "subversive," and Army and Navy officials for their "stupid and vicious sophistry" that the armed services are "not a social laboratory."

The delegates, from 40 states, did not meet in a vacuum. Their convention, opening midweek, augmented a chorus of local civil rights activities.

THE CHORUS: To the north, in San Francisco, 89 Negro dining car cooks filed a federal suit asking damages and an injunction against the Union Pacific Railroad and the AFL Dining Car Employees Union, for "unlawful discrimination under the railway labor act" by "conniving" against upgrading of Negro employes.

In Oakland across the bay, the Mayor's Civic Unity Committee (made possible by united election activities) brought in a verdict of guilty against Police Inspector Charles Wood, charged with the "third degree" beating of George B. McDaniel, 39, last May 11 at City Hall. The committee called it "unjustifiable abuse of a man because of his race." The Oakland press ignored or buried the report.

In Richmond, the NAACP branch and progressive groups working with it were celebrating what they believe to be the first city Fair Employment Practices Commission, forced through City Council unanimously by joint action.

A resolution urging similar municipal united fronts for FEPC all over the country was before the Los Angeles convention.

UNCOMFORTABLE: Fletcher Bowron, mayor of Los Angeles, who formally welcomed the NAACP convention delegates, was smarting under the disclosure before an investigating grand jury that he had sat for eight months on his own confidential agent's report that Los Angeles police brutalize racial minorities.

Bowron is one of the principal targets in a vice and corruption inquiry, which has resulted in his police chief retiring and a citizens' committee launching a sidewalk petition campaign seeking his recall.

Though the hue and cry originally arose over alleged vice-squad payoffs from houses of prostitution, the mayor's recent appearance before the grand jury revealed existence of a private report charging his police terrorized the Negro community.

WORN, SOFT PEDAL: The week that opened the NAACP convention also saw Mexican-American Councilman Ed Roybal take office, with an opening speech that pledged an all-out fight against police brutality in minority areas.

Newspapers soft-pedaled the convention's sterner business, played up its award of the Spingarn Medal to UN's Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, who mediated the Palestine settlement.

LOOK!
'Democratic International' (DI) —the situation calls for DDT

By Cedric Belfrage

THE background story of a real-life chiller-diller surpassing the wildest fantasies of the late James C. Forrestal came to light last week, when the public relations office of one Saul Krieg got in touch with Progressive Party headquarters.

Krieg sent PP an advance proof of an article, "How to Get the World on our Side," scheduled to appear in **Look** magazine dated Aug. 2, which hits the stands this week. He wanted to know if a PP spokesman would debate the plan outlined in the article with its author, Joseph Laffan Morse, on the American Forum of the Air Aug. 1.

The PP looked it over and replied that the plan was so far outside the realm of rational ideas as to be undebatable by any sane person.

COMBAT 2 WAYS: The plan calls for a "secret invasion army of a million spies, secret agents and organizers, saboteurs, propagandists and agitators," to be called the "Democratic International" (DI). This army is to "invade every non-Communist nation, the Soviet satellite countries and Soviet Russia itself," using "bribery and threats" to "wipe out sworn Communists" and "give the people the means to unseat their oppressors."

The DI, according to a table of organization illustrating the **Look** article, will have a "Director of Public Combat" and a "Director of Underground Combat" serving under a Director General, for which post Gen. W. J. Donovan, former OSS chief is proposed. A scheme is laid out for the invasion of "say, Czechoslovakia"—"probably through the forested mountains of the Boehmerwald" in the U.S. Zone of Germany.

Morse's plan, which in earlier drafts has been titled "How to Beat Russia Without Firing a Shot" and "Revolution in Russia: We Can Create It and Avert World War III," is submitted as the only alternative to atomization of the U.S.

LITTLE HELPING HANDS: When the GUARDIAN investigated the story, it found that the following among others are cooperating to give the plan world-wide publicity.

- **Eleanor Roosevelt** has invited Morse to discuss it on her radio program during the last two weeks of July;
- **Readers Digest** will present the plan to its world flock (9,000,000 in the U.S. alone) after **Look's** 3,000,000 readers struggle to digest it.
- A radio dramatization of the plan is being enthusiastically prepared by ace whodunit writer Paul Milton;
- **Pat Barnes** will discuss it—presumably as a "Thing"—on his **People and Things** program over ABC, July 21.

AIR-CONDITIONED GENIUS: Here is the story of the "Democratic International" as the GUARDIAN has managed to dig it out from the shadow-world of its huckster origins.

Joseph Laffan Morse is a 47-year-old Phi Beta Kappa graduate lawyer, a self-made man from New York's lower east side, president of Unicorn Press Inc. and editor-in-chief of Funk and Wagnalls Encyclopedia. Hard work and shrewd operation under "the American way" gave him his swanky home at Mamaroneck and dominion over a large and elegant office off Park Av. on 77th St. (air-conditioned for executives only).

But in his poorer days he was a "mild socialist"; he knows his way around Karl Marx and looks like an unfunny Groucho.

SAVIOR: According to a biography issued by Saul Krieg, Morse "became soured on Russia in 1937 upon publication of the new Soviet constitution." At some point after that he became friendly with author Max Eastman, the one-time fanatical pro-bolshevik (now a **Readers Digest** editor at $25,000 a year) whose "souring" process took place over 20 years ago with the banishment of his idol, Leon Trotzky, from the Soviet Union. Eastman arranged for the **Readers Digest** reprint of Morse's plan.

The information pouring into Morse's office, Krieg's biography continues, "crystallized about a year ago into a pattern which showed that Russia had embarked upon World War III. The trigger was eminently the fall of China."

Morse undertook talks not only with his "close friend Eastman" but with "political leaders of nations conquered by Russia." Among the eastern European emigré leaders who poured their woes and wisdom into Morse's ears there was an ex-something-or-other from Estonia and, according to Krieg, a Hungarian ex-minister and "something important Polish." Perhaps the latter was the veteran pogromist Tadeusz Bielecki, whose saga was told here last week.

The result was a resolve by Morse that the fate of civilization rested on his shoulders.

FROM WALLETS TO WAMPUM: The DI plan was first launched early this year when Morse sent out a mysterious looking "Democratic Manifesto" to a selected list of friends and authorities, "for reading by recipient only." Claiming to represent the aspirations of "we American liberals," the "Manifesto" was unidentified except for Morse's name and address at the end.

One copy went to publicity man Krieg, busy at the time on a scheme to promote a line of wallets through a "non-profit" "Inner Sanctum Foundation for Successful People."

At 31 Saul Krieg has, like Morse, had his flirtation with the left. He says he voted for Wallace in 1948 and claims to have done promotion work for the progressive **Readers Scope** and even for the **Daily Worker.** He entered into the bloodthirsty "Democratic International" scheme as spiritedly as he would take up the promotion of a new corset.

LIFE WITH LUCE: The "Manifesto" was submitted to **Life** magazine in February and edited for publication therein by senior staff man John Osborne, who writes **Life's** Luce-line editorials. Two versions were prepared, the second one closely resembling the "Manifesto" save for two major omissions: (1) a paragraph stating that "a blueprint" for the Morse "invasion" already exists in the "secret dossiers" of "our War Dept., OSS and FBI

and congressional committees;" and (2) a statement that "even the public clamor for such illusory panaceas as peace through the United Nations or World Federalists" is a "sign of victory" for Russian schemes of world conquest.

But **Life** finally abandoned the project. Krieg then submitted it to **Look.** Publisher Gardner Cowles, "liberal" Republican who accompanied Willkie on the "One World" flying trip during the war and saw Russia briefly for himself, was more receptive than Luce.

NEW-LOOK MURDER: As it will finally appear, the article is a much watered-down version of the original "Manifesto" and the **Life** drafts. The "Manifesto" did not begin with an expression of hatred for war as does the article, but with the words: "Let us face the facts before it is too late; Soviet Russia is inexorably moving toward world conquest." It continued: "What shall we do? Drop an atom bomb? That, too, we know is coming."

The "Manifesto" mentioned "provocateurs" as elements the DI must recruit "for democratic purposes;" the **Look** piece delicately leaves out the word.

Look tries to give the scheme a new look by adding: "The weapons of the Democratic International should be words, ideas, information, not guns... Our secret army will not attempt to murder Communists nor to conquer Soviet Russia by force of arms." None of this is in Morse's text; and it is in any case contradicted in other parts of the **Look** story.

FREEDOM IS WONDERFUL: Of course this article and campaign will be seized upon by the Russians as an example of open provocation—which it is. It will be pointed out again that such articles are not permitted in the Soviet press—which is true, and which will lead as always to triumphant reminders here that our press is "free," theirs "enslaved."

The GUARDIAN'S researches do not bring out any evidence of State Dept. complicity in DI. In fact, there are indications that the State Dept., into which Henry Luce has an intimate pipeline, may have been responsible for advising **Life** to lay off the project as an embarrassment to it.

The "Democratic International" will never become reality, if only for the reason that exactly the same idea was repeatedly tried after World War I and met with ignominious failure. **The Great Conspiracy**, by Michael Sayers and Albert Kahn, gives full, documented details of the abortive "DI" adventure of the postwar period of the Twenties.

Report on the press

Footloose and fancy, but free for what?

IN the several months of our existence, NATIONAL GUARDI[A]N has had many occasions to challenge the conduct of the commercial press of the United States. The commercial press designates itself as the one and only custodian of our constitutional concept of a free press. As such, with the radio, it exercises a virtual monopoly on information reaching the American people and reaching the rest of the world about the American people.

The GUARDIAN believes that the commercial press as a whole has misappropriated freedom of the press for its own profit as a business enterprise; that rather than informing it often withholds information and misinforms; and that it has to an alarming extent abandoned or refused to recognize the responsibilities which must go hand in hand with the privileges of a free press.

It has conspired and contrived to deprive citizens of their constitutional liberties. It has inflamed public passion. It has worked day and night to magnify and distort international differences. It has openly urged war as the necessary alternative to peace on any terms other than those of U.S. big business.

THIS week **Look** magazine features an article (discussed in detail on this page) which exemplifies what we mean to an appalling degree. The article calls for an international organization participated in by the U.S., designed to infiltrate any nation with whom we may disagree and to overthrow its government by any means contrivable, including the use of force and violence with arms to be supplied by this country.

Look calls its proposed organization the "Democratic International," likening it in form to the Communist International or Comintern. Actually it is a blueprint for an American-led Fascintern. The methods it proposes are those abhorred by both U.S. law and common conviction.

For allegedly advocating such methods, 11 Communist Party leaders are now on trial in New York. For association with organizations alleged by the Attorney General, the House Un-American Activities Committee etc. to hold wtih such views, millions of Americans have had their liberties jeopardized, their jobs threatened, their lives made insecure. The press (including **Look,** just last week) has urged on this purge among Americans.

Now comes the same **Look** magazine, advocating and detailing a plot to overthrow governments which are fellow-members of ours in the United Nations.

It may be argued that this plan is fantastic adventure-strip stuff without any relation to reality. But **Look** magazine, the picture weekly with one of the greatest "family" circulations in the world, does not argue this way. It presents the plan with deadly seriousness. With equal seriousness **Readers Digest** wi[ll] pick it up and present it to millions more people all over t[he] world. Radio programs are scheduled to air it; even Eleano[r] Roosevelt has agreed to discuss it.

A REAL huckster job is being done to plant this propositi[on] in the minds of the American people and people elsewhe[re] in the world as a realizable, desirable thing.

What choice have people elsewhere but to accept the plan as the open intention of the United States, presented to the world by our democratic free press?

From this corner the **Look** adventure is one sweetheart of an argument for demanding responsibility in our "free press" or tossing its misappropriators one by one into the ashcan and starting over.

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers,

John T. McManus

Where is it?

Under the heading "The Case of the Missing Underground," the Roman Catholic magazine **America** in its July 16 issue reviews the book **God's Underground,** last spring's fantasy about an alleged religious "pro-democratic" network in Russia (GUARDIAN, April 25).

America points out that stories in the book about a religious "resistance," supposed to have been personally observed by the author in 1945, all appear in N. S. Timasheff's **Religion in Soviet Russia,** an account of the Russian Orthodox Church's activities in 1937-38 when its relations with the sta[te] were bad.

"Is the author a pathological prevaricator?" asks **America.**